

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

Founded by B. L. GILDERSLEEVE

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VOLUME LXII

BALTIMORE: THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

LONDON: ARTHUR F. BIRD

PARIS: ALBERT FONTEMOING

LEIPZIG: F. A. BROCKHAUS

1941

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NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE TRIBUTE LISTS.

Recent investigations in the bastion on which the temple of Athena Nike was constructed have brought to light two new fragments of the Athenian tribute-quota lists. A preliminary publication, though without photographs, has already been made by Gabriel Welter in the *Jahrbuch*, LIV (1939), Beiblatt, pp. 16-22. The small fragment (Fig. 1: E. M. 13048)¹ has its top edge preserved and contains the opening lines of a prescript; the larger fragment (Fig. 2: E. M. 13049) contains the end of a prescript and most of the names that belonged in the Island panel of the Empire.

I believe that Welter is right in assigning the larger piece to one of the years after the Peace of Nikias, not only for the reasons which he advances but also for the additional reasons that are set forth here.

Welter has assumed that his two fragments cannot be combined as parts of one inscription. This conclusion, however, rests upon the acceptance of doubtful readings. It was Welter's suggestion (*loc. cit.*, pp. 17-18) that the letters ΞΤΟ in the second line of the larger piece might be completed to read [Ἀρι]στο[τέλης Θοραιοῦς], thus naming a man who is known to have represented the tribe Antiochis in the college of hellenotamiai in 421/0.² At the same time he read and restored the letters in the last line of the smaller piece as [Ἀμφιτ]ρο[πίθεν] (*loc. cit.*, p. 16), obtaining thus a different representative from Antiochis and necessitating the belief that the two fragments name different colleges.

Some improvement in the reading of this questionable passage

¹ Photographs, squeezes, and measurements have been kindly supplied to me by Oliver.

² Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, List 34, lines 5-6.

in the small piece can be made (line 5), for the squeeze shows $\text{'}\text{I}\text{O}$ rather than PO . The iota is not correctly spaced to be read as rho, and the letter before it was certainly not tau. On the squeeze the partial initial stroke seems near enough being vertical to form part of the letter nu, though in the photograph it appears with a perceptible slope, as of mu or even as of alpha. Perhaps it is best to make as yet no definite identification of this letter. In the larger fragment the restoration $[\text{'A}\rho\iota]\sigma\tau\text{ο}[\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\varsigma]$ is not inevitable, and I suggest below $[\text{--}\text{'A}\rho\acute{\iota}\mu\nu\epsilon]\sigma\tau\text{ο}[\text{s--}]$ as a possible alternative.

There are many indications that the two fragments do in fact belong together. They were found in the same place; they have the same lettering; the spacing of the letters and the spacing of the lines are the same on both pieces. One may note also the similar weathered surfaces, and Oliver informs me that they seem to be from the same grain of marble. Furthermore, it is quite clear that the documents already published as List 35, fragments 2 and 3,³ formed part of the same inscription. For the shapes of the letters one may study side by side the photographs published here and in *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 104 (Fig. 140). The squeezes show identical measurements in the spacing of lines and letters and identical measurements in the individual strokes of the letters themselves.⁴ One may observe also the characteristic manner in which the surface of the stone has been flaked away; this is especially noticeable in the photograph here printed in Fig. 2 and in the photograph in *A. T. L.*, I, p. 104.

This new grouping of fragments raises again the question whether fragment 1 of List 35 should be included in the reconstruction. When Broneer first published this piece,⁵ and associated it with fragment 2 of List 35 because they had "exactly the same kind of lettering," there was relatively little evidence on which to base a certain judgment. As nearly as measurement was possible, the spacing of the lines and of the numerals appeared the same. Two letters only, belonging to the heading $[\text{'I}]\sigma\tau\text{ο}[\text{'}\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma]$, were preserved on Broneer's fragment; but all the letters, as distinct from numerals, that once belonged with

³ *A. T. L.*, I, pp. 104 and 153.

⁴ Five lines occupy a vertical span of 0.085 m. and five letters (measured on centers) a horizontal span of 0.057 m.

⁵ *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 157-158.

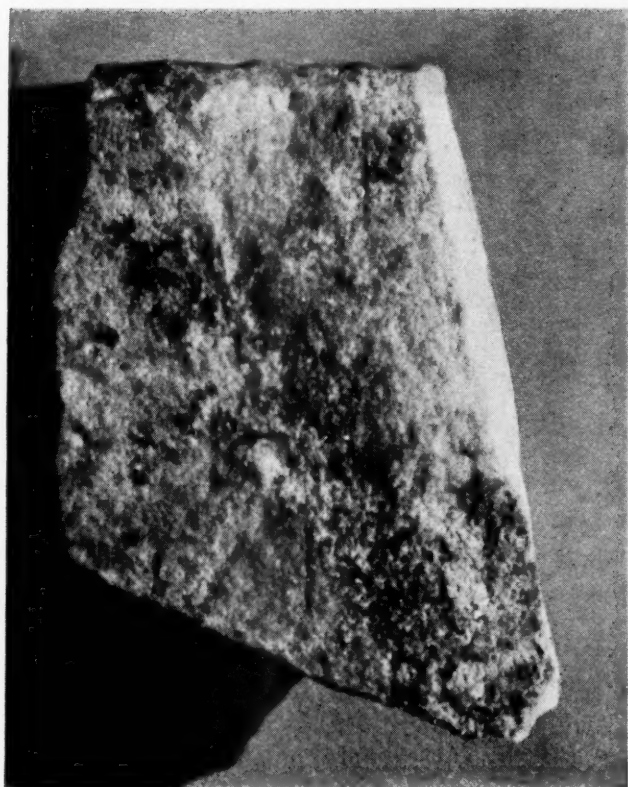


Fig. 1: E. M. 13048.



Fig. 2: E. M. 13049.

fragments 2 and 3 had been lost. The first opportunity for a comparison of letter forms is now given by the new pieces published by Welter. It so happens that both the omicron and the nu are different, omicron having a diameter of 0.007 m. in Broneer's fragment and of 0.009 m. in Welter's fragments, while nu is made with strokes which measure 0.009 m. in Broneer's fragment and 0.01 m. in Welter's fragments. It may be added that the horizontal bar of the drachma sign is 0.006 m. long in the old piece and 0.008 m. long in the new. This bar is also 0.008 m. long in the one measurable example on List 35, fragment 2—evidence of its bond with the newly discovered pieces and a further indication that it must be dissociated from List 35, fragment 1.

In addition to these epigraphical considerations there is the significant fact that no names can be restored with any degree of probability after the numerals preserved on Broneer's fragment that do not already appear on the new piece published by Welter.

There can, I think, be no doubt that the two new pieces and fragments 2 and 3 of List 35 (*A. T. L.*, I, p. 104) all formed part of one original monument, and that fragment 1 of List 35 belongs to a separate inscription. It is possible that it may have come from the fractured left margin which appears on the reverse face of List 26,⁶ but even so the order of districts argues for a date after 425/4, when the Island panel began the first column along the left margin of the stone, to be followed by the Ionic panel, also in the first column. The inscription cannot have fallen in the period from 425/4 to 422/1 which was covered by the assessment of 425, because no quota of [ϠΔ]ΓΗΙΙΙΙ can be based upon the Island assessment of that year.⁷ Nor can it be associated with any one of the documents now assigned to the years from 421/0 to 419/8; the epigraphical differences which exclude it from Lists 34 and 36 are even more impressive than those which exclude it from List 35. We shall find, however, in this article that some changes of attribution make possible its remaining in 420/19.

The new group is so extensive that it cannot be assigned to

⁶ Cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 158, and see the photograph in *A. T. L.*, I, p. 5, Fig. 2. There is, however, no join.

⁷ Cf. A9, lines 61-98, in *A. T. L.*, I, p. 156.

the fracture on the reverse of List 26, and it must be reconstructed as a separate stele. The fragments do not join with each other or with the original preserved fragment, but one might be tempted to place the new small piece in such a position above the larger that it forms the upper left corner of the stele. This disposition has in its favor what seems to be a sweeping arc of fracture which may be traced along the right lateral surface of both pieces. Against this disposition is the fact that the two fragments come close to joining and yet do not join, and the improbability that the small piece falls short of having its left edge preserved by so slight a splinter as one must assume has been broken away along the margin. Oliver also informs me, from Athens, that the thickness of the two fragments where they approach each other most closely is not the same, and that there is no indication from their reverse surfaces that they belong in this position.

In line 1 Welter reads AP. Before these letters appears the weathered stroke of iota, and before the iota are the upright and top horizontal bars of epsilon or pi. These new readings were first made from a squeeze, and later Oliver confirmed the reading .AP from the stone itself. If the position suggested above is correct the restoration must be, within the available limits of date, either [ἐ]πὶ Ἀρχίο ἄρχοντος --] or [ἐ]πὶ Ἀρχιμνέστο ἄρχοντος --] giving precise dates in 419/8 or 416/5. It would be possible to reconstruct a text, then, somewhat in the following fashion, using a stoichedon line of 65 letters:

	[ἐ]πὶ Ἀρχ[^{3 or 7} ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίους, ἡελλενοταμίαι ἔσαν	
	----- ^{23 or 19} -----]	
	ς Ἀναγν[ράσιος (I) ----- ⁵³ -----]	
	ο Σκαμβ[ονίδες (IV) ----- ⁴⁹ ----- Χσυνπ]	
	εταίων (VII) [----- ⁵⁹ -----]	
5	[...]γίο [- ^{ca. 9} (X)---] τοῖς ----- ^{ca. 24} -----	
	ἐγραμμάτευσ, ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς]	
	[ἡε]ι Α[..... ¹⁷ πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευσ, ἐπὶ τῆς	
	ἡέκτες (or ἐνάτες) καὶ τριακοστῆς ἀρ]	
	[χῆ]ς το[ῖς τριάκοντα λογισταῖς ἀπὸ τῶμ φόρον ἀπέφεναν	
	τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῷ μνῶν]	
	[ἀπὸ] τῷ ταλ[άντῳ vacat]	

It must be confessed that this restoration is not satisfactory. The quota lists of this period⁸ began with the date given first

by the secretary of the Council, while the archon's name was introduced by the formula ἔρχε δὲ Ἀθηναίους. Furthermore, the preamble is too long, line 7 in particular necessitating a rather full and wordy restoration quite in contrast to the versions of the same clause that appear in Lists 33 and 34. There is an added epigraphical objection which I hesitate to press to its full and logical conclusion because the surface in line 1 is so badly weathered as to make absolute certainty of the reading questionable. But the top horizontal stroke of the Γ in [ἐ]πί, which Oliver read as Γ, seems to measure only 0.007 m. in length. Elsewhere in the text the top stroke of pi measures 0.009 m. The shorter stroke is correct for epsilon, and the passage might best be interpreted as [--]εῖ Ἀρ[--]. The first line of text may now be read in the normal way, and the position of the upper fragment is determined by the necessary restoration [ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡ]εῖ Ἀρ[---- πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευε--].

Upon any attempt at restoration it is obvious that the date by archon could not now also have been given in line 1. However, his name may be inserted in the lower lines of the preamble, where there will be available space if the phrase ending with the words [ἀπὸ] τῷ ταλ[άντῳ] is to be given the compendious form known from Lists 33 and 34. Surely it is more than mere coincidence that where the name should fall, in the line above the letters [ἀπὸ] τῷ ταλ[άντῳ], the preserved letters ΣΤΟ form part of the archon-name Ἀρίμνεστος, one of the few which are available for restoration. The appearance of this name dates the inscription in the year 416/5 and the following text may now be proposed:

416/5 B. C.

List 39

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 72

[ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡ]εῖ Ἀρ[.....^{ca. 8} πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευε,
 ἡελλενοταμίαι ἔσαν ^{ca. 8}]
 [.....¹¹.....]ς Ἀναγυ[ράσιος (I)⁴⁹..
]
 [.....¹¹.....]ο Σκαμβ[ονίδης (IV)⁴⁹..
]
 [...⁷... Χσνπ]εταίων (VII) [...⁵⁴..
 'E]

* See A. T. L., Lists 33 and 34.

- 5 [ρο]ιά[δες (X) hoīs ...]νιο[.....²⁵.....
 ... ἐγραμμάτευε, ἔρχε δὲ Ἀθηναίους Ἀρίμ]
 [νε]στο[ς· ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ τριακοστῆς ἀρχῆς πόλες haïde
 ἀπέδοσαν ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῷ μνᾶν]
 [ἀπὸ] τῷ ταλ[άντο vacat]
 [Νε]σιοτ[ικός]
 ----- Ἀ[ναφαῖοι]
 10 ----- [Θεραῖοι]
 Η[.] Σε[ρίφιοι]
 ΠΔΓΗΙΙΙ Ἀθε[νῖται]
 ΠΗ vacat Κε<ι>ο[ι]
 ΓΗΗΗ Πρεα[ιῆς]
 15 Π Διακρ[ῆς]
 vacat ἀπὸ Χα[λκιδέον]
 ΓΗΗΗ Σικιν[ῆται]
 ----- Κιμόλι[οι]
 ΠΗ Κύθνιοι
 20 Π Ἰῆται
 ΠΗΗ vacat Ἀνδριοι
 Π Καρύστι[οι]
 ΔΓΗ[ΙΙΙ] Γρ<υ>γχῆς
 [ΧΠΗΗΗ] Πάριοι
 25 [ΔΓΗΙΙΙ] Φολεγάνδ[ριοι]
 ----- Σίφνιοι
 [ΠΗΗ--] Νάχσιοι
 [Η] Μυκόνιοι
 ----- Τένιοι
 30 ----- [Σύ]ριοι
 ----- [Χαλκ]ιδ[ῆς]
 lacuna
 [Ἰονικός]
 lacuna
 [.]Η -----
 Χ [Καμπεῖς]
 35 ΗΗΗ [Ἰασῆς]
 Χ Μ[ιλέσιοι]
 Λέ[ρος]
 vacat Τειχ[ιώσσα]
 ΧΠ Κλαζο[μένιοι]

40	ΓΗΗΗ	Κολοφ[όνιοι]
	[ΔΔΔ]ΗΗΗ	Νοτιέ[ς]
	[ΓΗΗ]ΗΗ	Διοσε[ρίται]
	-----	Ἐφέσιο[ι]
	[ΔΓΗ]ΗΗ	Ἰσίνδιο[ι]
45	-----	Ἐρυθραῖ[οι]

lacuna

(Rest of Column I and Columns II and III lost)

The division between lines 5 and 6 shows that the inscription was truly stichedon and that the lines did not end syllabically. The single omicron before the demotic Σκαμβ[ονίδες] in line 3 shows that the hellenotamiai were listed by their full names, including the patronymics. Since the demes Anagyrous, Skambonidai, and Xypete (lines 2, 3, 4) represent tribes I, IV, and VII in the official order it is possible to determine that the demotic from Antiochis (X) ought to fall near the beginning of line 5. I have suggested the restoration [Ἐρο]υ[ίδες]. The precise number of letters in each line is given by the restoration of line 6, which is based upon a combination of elements taken from Lists 33 and 34. If τὸν ἀπαρχέν (List 34) is read instead of ἀπαρχέν (List 33) all lines of the prescript might be made longer by three letters. In line 4 it may be noted that the upper stroke of epsilon is preserved on the edge of the stone. All that has been known previously about the name of the first secretary of the Council in 416/5 is that it contained eight letters.⁹

In line 8 the upper half of sigma is largely preserved. Welter read [Νεσ]ιωτ[ικὸς φόρος]. I prefer to read [Νε]σιωτ[ικὸς] and omit the word φόρος.

In line 9 Welter makes no restoration but names as possibilities Α[ιγυνῆται], Α[ναφαῖοι], and Α[μόργιοι]. Amorgos probably belonged to the Ionic-Karic panel,¹⁰ and Aigina paid no tribute after 431 (cf. *A. T. L.*, I, p. 218). The restoration should be Α[ναφαῖοι]. In line 11 one may restore [Θεραῖοι] as part of the geographical group and note that in List 33 (*A. T. L.*, I, p. 151) the names of Anaphe, Thera, and Seriphos head the Island panel in the same order.

In line 11 the stone is so weathered that the quota of Seriphos

⁹ *I. G.*, I², 302. See Meritt, *A. F. D.*, p. 161, line 36.

¹⁰ Cf. Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment*, p. 69.

may have been partly lost. It was at least 100 drachmai; it may have been as much as 300 drachmai. Welter reads H.

In line 12 Welter reads 'Αθ[ἔναι Διάδες]. The upright stroke of E is preserved and the restoration should be 'Αθε[νίται]. This was the accepted spelling after 433.

In line 20 Welter's reading of the quota of 'Ιἔται as Π is a typographer's error for the correct Π.

In line 23 Welter reads ΔΓΗΙΙΙ. The restoration should be ΔΓΗ[ΙΙΙ], for he saw only the tip of one obol sign (*loc. cit.*, p. 18).

In line 27 it is not certain from comparison with List 36, line 4, that the figures ΠΗΠ represent the complete quota of Naxos. The restoration should be [ΠΗΠ--].

In line 31 the upper halves of iota and delta in [Χαλκ]ιδ[ῆς] are visible.

One can make an approximate guess from measuring across the Island panel at about the level of line 25 that a combined column of quotas and names was at least 0.25 m. wide; it may have been more. But since this width corresponds to 22 letters in the prescript it is evident that these lines had about 66 letters as a minimum and that the names of cities with their quotas were arranged in three columns. This is a perfectly normal arrangement, which can be set forth now more in detail since the restorations call for a length of line in the prescript of 72 letters. Each of the three columns had a width of 24 letters, of which (on the evidence of Col. I) eight spaces were allotted to the numerals. We posit a width of sixteen spaces for the names and note that the mason had plotted off the stone into nine equal sections. This symmetrical disposition supports the length of line of 72 letters.

We have already observed that the two lists with which this inscription can be most closely compared are those now published in *A. T. L.*, I as Lists 33 and 34. The various elements of the prescript appear in List 33 as follows:

1. Date by secretary of the Council
2. Date by archon
3. Date by ἀρχή
4. Names of hellenotamiai with their secretary
5. Note respecting payment of the quota to the Goddess.

In List 34 the same elements appear in this order:

1. Date by secretary of the Council
2. Date by archon
3. Names of hellenotamiai with their secretary
4. Date by ἀρχή
5. Note respecting payment of the quota to the Goddess.

In the inscription here published the variation in form from List 34 consists first of the fact that the date by archon is given with the date by ἀρχή rather than with the date by secretary, second in the fact that the secretary was named with his demotic, and third in the fact that the hellenotamiai and their secretary were listed with patronymics. The demotic of the secretary was also added in List 33, as was also the demotic of the archon, though both there and in List 34 patronymics were omitted.

If there is any development that can be traced in the chronology of these prescripts it is that List 34 seems to be the earliest, List 33 next, and the new inscription the last of the series. Since the two extremes are dated by their archons in 421/0 and 416/5 it becomes now more than ever probable that List 33 should be assigned to 418/7, the only year which is available for it except 422/1.¹¹ At any rate, this is a possibility that needs to be further explored. It is important for the progressive dating that demotics are used for the secretary of the Council in List 33 and in the new piece, and that patronymics were used in the new inscription alone. The new text has the same five elements as the other two, in this order:

1. Date by secretary of the Council
2. Names of hellenotamiai with their secretary
3. Date by archon
4. Date by ἀρχή
5. Note respecting payment of the quota to the Goddess.

We now turn rather far afield for other evidence which bears upon the problem of these three texts. In a recent note on the calendar of Kos,¹² Milton Giffler has drawn attention to the sequence of the Doric months Gerastios and Artamitios, in that order, and I believe his suggestion sound that they must be construed in the same sequence in the calendar of Sparta. We do not have to follow every detail of the argument which centers

¹¹ Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII (1939), pp. 54-59 had considered the possibility of 418/7 as an alternative to 422/1.

¹² *A. J. A.*, XLIII (1939), pp. 445-446.

around these two Spartan months and their relation to Elaphebolion in the Athenian calendar of 423 and 421 (Thuc. IV, 118-119; V, 19), for if Giffler is right, then the year 422/1 must have been an intercalary year at Athens.¹³ The argument has already been set forth in my *Athenian Calendar*, pp. 111-112, and in spite of some intervening heresy I now return to the position advocated there, strengthened as it is by Giffler's evidence that there is no longer any ambiguity about the order of the months of Sparta.¹⁴ The matter is of interest here because it means that the first secretary of the Council Prepis (*I. G.*, I², 311, line 8) cannot have served during any part of the archonship of Aristion if he was secretary in 422/1, as the restoration in line 1 of List 33 implies.¹⁵ The consequence is that if List 33 is to be dated in 422/1 the secretary's name in line 1 cannot have been Prepis; but since the seeming desirability of this very restoration was a deciding factor that weighed against the date 418/7, one may now return with more probability to the later date and restore the prescript as follows:

List 37

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 50

[ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἐῖ⁷ . . . 'Α]φιδναῖος προτ[ος ἐγραμμάτευε, ἔρχε]
 [δὲ 'Αθенаίους 'Αντιφῶν Σκ]αμβονίδες ἐπὶ τῇ[ς ἡεβδόμης καὶ τρια]
 [κοστῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐλλενοταμί]αι ἔσαν ἡοῖς 'Αντ[.¹⁶]
 [.¹⁶ Περγ]ασθεν, Μνεσίθεο[ς 'Αραφένιος, . . .⁶ . . .]
 [.¹⁶ Εὐπν]ρίδες, Αἰσχίνες Π[εριθοίδες, . . .⁷ . . .]
 [Θυμαίτ]άδε[ς, 'Εργοκλῆς Βεσ]αεύς vacat
 [πόλεις ἢ] αἶδε[ἀπέδοσαν ἀπα]ρχὴν τῇ θεῷ μνᾶ[ν ἀπ]ὸ τῷ ταλάντ[ο^{υυ}]

These restorations have been discussed already in *Hesperia*, VIII (1939), pp. 56-57. The forecast there made that new evidence might yet show the date to be 418/7 has not had to wait long for substantiation. This inscription becomes List 37 rather than List 33 in the series of tribute-quota records and will henceforth in this paper be so cited.

There is also some new evidence about Prepis, who cannot have been first secretary for the conciliar year 422/1, but must have been first secretary for the conciliar year 421/0, which

¹³ Giffler's latest discussion is in *Hermes*, LXXV (1940), pp. 215-226.

¹⁴ McGregor, *A. J. P.*, LIX (1938), p. 149, believed that 422/1 was ordinary at Athens, but he thought there was "no independent testimony to solve the problem of the Spartan months."

¹⁵ See Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, pp. 112-114.

corresponded approximately to the archon year of Aristion, also 421/0.¹⁶

The belief was expressed in *Hesperia* (*loc. cit.*) that Prepis may have been from Aphidnai because one of the two known Athenians who bore the name of his father Eupheros belonged to that deme. The name Eupheros has now appeared with the deme Auridai in a document of Hellenistic date from the Athenian Agora (Inv. No. I 5824, unpublished) so there is less reason to link the Eupheros of the fifth century, and hence Prepis, to Aphidnai. But more important still is the fact that the name Prepis itself is definitely associated in the fifth century with the deme Xypete. The evidence lies in *I. G.*, I², 773a, long known but only now correctly interpreted as a dedication to Athena made by Prepis' wife:¹⁷

I. G., I², 773a [. II]ρέπιδο[ς γυνή]
[Χουπετ]αιῶνος [τέτι]
[ἈθENAΙ]αι ἀνέθ[εκεν]

It is not impossible that the Prepis here named was the same as the first secretary of 421/0, so we face again in somewhat different form the old problem raised by the epigraphical record that Menekles of Anaphlystos was also first secretary in this same year.¹⁸ I once proposed that Prepis began the year as first secretary and that he was succeeded by Menekles, also secretary in the first prytany, because of death or illness or other disqualification of which we have no evidence, and that we might expect to find documents dated from the year 421/0 bearing either name as that of the first secretary.¹⁹ I should now modify this judgment only to say that if they were in fact both secretaries of the first prytany there is no way of knowing their order of precedence. They were then both "first secretaries" and either name might legitimately serve to define the conciliar year.

I consider it essential, however, that the secretaries in the first prytany, if there were two, should have belonged to the same tribe.²⁰ Only thus could an even representation of tribes in the secretaryship be maintained throughout the year, and if the

¹⁶ *I. G.*, I², 311, lines 8-9.

¹⁷ By A. E. Raubitschek, in a communication to the author.

¹⁸ *I. G.*, I², 370, line 5.

¹⁹ *The Athenian Calendar*, p. 113.

²⁰ Cf. *The Athenian Calendar*, p. 114, note 1.

record for Menekles is correct they must both have belonged to Antiochis (X). The Prepis of *I. G.*, I², 733a was a demesman of Xypete (VII), and he, at any rate, cannot have shared the honors with Menekles.

In view of the difficulties of having to deal with two first secretaries, one may perhaps be permitted to speculate on the reliability of *I. G.*, I², 370 as evidence for Menekles. The text is quite specific and without ambiguity: it states that the epistatai who had charge of the statues began work in the archonship of Aristion, in the conciliar year when Menekles of Anaphlystos was first secretary, in the prytany of Leontis which was fifth in order within the year. The inception of the work is thus dated to the fifth prytany of 421/0, and it may be supposed, if there is any mistake in the record at all, that Menekles was secretary when Leontis was the tribe in prytany, and that the recorder who prepared this document for publication five years later erroneously thought that he belonged to the beginning of the year and so named him as eponymous for it. If the Prepis of *I. G.*, I², 311 was the Prepis of *I. G.*, I², 733a, some such explanation would have to be proposed for Menekles. The suggestion may be correct anyway, for it would relieve us of two first secretaries. We shall have to make what we can of both of them if we insist that the record of *I. G.*, I², 370 is correct.

For the tribute lists this raises the question whether the name Πρέπης should not be restored instead of Μενεκλῆς in line 2 of List 34, and I believe that a strong case can be made out that it should. One reads at present in line 7 of List 34 [--- τοῖς τριάκοντα ἀπέφενα]ν τὲν ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῷ μῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ταλάν[το]. When the restoration was made the prescripts of Lists 37 and 39 were not available for purposes of comparison. One had only the distant analogy of the prescript of List 1 of 454/3, where the words [--- τοῖς] τριάκο[ντα ἀπ]εφάνθησαν appeared to give some clue as to what might be supplied in List 34. We now know that the better parallel is offered by the text, largely preserved in List 37 and largely restored in List 39, πόλεις χαίδε ἀπέδοσαν ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῷ μῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ταλάντο. Precisely this phrase, except for τὲν ἀπαρχὴν instead of ἀπαρχέν, may be restored in line 7 of List 34 if the line can be shortened by three letter-spaces.

Every line of the prescript can be so shortened if one reads in

line 2 the restoration [ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἔι Πρέπις πρῶτος ἐργ]αμμάτευε. This may be the correct solution, though again, as in List 37, the relative ἔι without rough breathing (but cf. *I. G.*, I², 304, line 1) is a disturbing factor. But I believe it more probable that West and I were wrong in 1925 when we read a tip of the alpha of τρια[κοστῆς] at the end of line 6.²¹ There is no trace of it now on my squeeze or on my photographs, and, although the iota appears clearly, the stone seems to be broken completely away where the alpha—even a top angle of it—should be preserved. This observation may be controlled by studying the photograph in *A. T. L.*, I, p. 101, Fig. 135, and equally well, except that the iota appears less clearly, in Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Plate 17. The iota is centered under the middle of the nu three lines above.

I doubt if any letter was ever intended to be cut in the space between this iota and the right margin of the stone. In lines 3-4 the demotic Παιανιεύς was divided Παιαν [ιεύς] in violation of true syllabic division, which might have been maintained if the cutter had only utilized the marginal space in question for the placing of a single iota. One may justifiably assume that he did not regard this space as available for lettering, and if not available in line 3 probably also not in line 6.²² Furthermore, we possess one fragment from the left edge of this same stele, where the marginal uninscribed band of stone before the letters may be seen to be about the same as that after the final nu of line 3 and the iota of line 6.²³ Certainly the inclusion of one more inscribed letter along the right margin would have destroyed completely the symmetry of the text with respect to the right and left sides of the stone.

I propose, therefore, that the alpha of τριακοστῆς be restored at the beginning of line 7, and that the essential supplements in the rest of the line, based on the analogy of List 37 and 39, necessitate a shortening by two letters and the restoration of the name Πρέπις instead of Μενεκλῆς for line 2.²⁴

²¹ *Ἀρχ.* *Ἐφ.*, 1924 (published in 1926), p. 42.

²² The result in line 3 was a so-called "natural" division. Cf. Austin, *Stoichedon Style*, p. 57.

²³ Compare Figures 135 and 138 in *A. T. L.*, I, pp. 101 and 103.

²⁴ One should note the acumen of Bannier, who wrote in 1917 (*B. Ph. W.*, 1917, p. 1345): "I 260 ist etwa ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τριακοστῆς ἀρχῆς αἶδε πόλεις ἀπέδοσα]ν (ἀπέφηναν) τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῷ

of Col. III in a panel of 12 spaces. With a stoichedon line of 62 letters in the prescript, this leaves a width of 14 spaces for the names of Col. I ($62 - [15 + 12 + (3 \times 7)] = 62 - 48 = 14$). With the restoration of $\Pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\varsigma$ in line 2, a satisfactory symmetry of the stone is preserved.

It remains to indicate the changes in dates of the later lists necessitated by this study:

- List 33 422/1 No known fragments
- List 34 421/0 *A. T. L.*, I, List 34 (no change except in restorations of the prescript)
- List 35 420/19 Only lines 1-7 of *A. T. L.*, I, List 35 remain as a possible candidate, and this is uncertain
- List 36 419/8 List formerly assigned to this year probably to be transferred to 417/6
- List 37 418/7 *A. T. L.*, I, List 33 (with changes in the restoration of the prescript)
- List 38 417/6 *A. T. L.*, I, List 36; from its similarity to List 39 the inscription probably belongs in this assessment period
- List 39 416/5 New inscription here published, in addition to *A. T. L.*, I, List 35, lines 8-20
- List 40 415/4 Probably *A. T. L.*, I, List 37, now displaced from 418/7.

The only difference in form between the new List 40 and the others of its period is that it is more compact and more closely cut. This may explain why the one entry, χ Μιλέσιοι , stands in place of the usual three-line entry naming also $\Lambda\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ and Τειχιῶσσα . The lettering is quite like that of some of the poletai-records from the sale of the confiscated property of those who profaned the Mysteries in 415, so we assign the document to this year. It is important to note that there are no observable changes in assessment between the periods 421/0-419/8 and 418/7-415/4. Apparently the great assessment of 425 B. C. represented the high-water mark of Athenian attempts at tribute collection.

The restored tributes of Sigeion, Kyzikos, and Artakos should now be deleted from A9, lines III 93, II 179, and III 82, since the quotas on which the restorations depended belong in the period after 418 (List 37).

BENJAMIN D. MERITT.

PATTERN OF SOUND AND ATOMISTIC THEORY IN LUCRETIIUS.

Rosamund E. Deutsch in her Bryn Mawr dissertation *The Pattern of Sound in Lucretius* (1939) has pointed an excellent lesson for the reader of the poet: Read aloud, accustom your ear to the music of this language, hear the alliterations, assonances, rhymes, the similarities and the contrasts of sounds, the repetition of words, be it in a single verse or in two or spread over five or fifteen or fifty, and you will have an experience to be equalled with few other poems at least in European literature. This lesson I want to pursue. My suggestion is not meant to "explain" the music of the vowels and consonants. The whole of it can be explained as little as can the lilies of the field; but many of the facts which Miss Deutsch has collected and sifted with care and love admit of an explanation and require it,—as Lucretius himself has stated.

The explanation is to be found in an important point of his theory of language (which is after all the theory of Epicurus and the old Atomists). It is well known that he considers nature and utility as the factors at work in the genesis of speech, nature producing the sounds, utility moulding the names of things (Lucretius, V, 1028).¹ This origin, he states, is quite natural and not at all mysterious, as experience shows the first step even in dogs, horses, and birds. His passage dealing with the "language" of animals (1056 ff.) is a masterpiece of his art of expressive sounds. At the beginning one feels the dogs' lips move in *canum cum primum magna Molossum mollia ricta fremunt*, their teeth uncovering in *duros nudantia dentes*, hears their growling in *rabies restricta minatur*,² later on their barking in *cum iam latrant et vocibus omnia complent*. It is quite obvious that the poet does not merely enjoy adorning a vivid description with a multitude of assonances. He rather presents

¹ Cf. C. Giussani, *T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura*, I (Torino, 1896), pp. 267 ff. For other aspects of this problem cf. Phillip DeLacy, "The Epicurean Analysis of Language," *A. J. P.*, LX (1939), p. 85. Concerning the background in Democritus cf. E. Frank, *Plato u. d. sog. Pythagorecr.*, pp. 167 ff.

² <re>*restricta* is Lachmann's conjectural restoration which is almost certain.

the natural operation of lips, teeth, and pharynx and then shows the sounds of the animals in such onomatopoeic words as *adulant*, *baubantur*, *hinnitus* (1070 ff.) and onomatopoeic names as *cornix* and *corvus* (1084). Thus one directly experiences the natural process by which the *πάθη* and *φαντάσματα* of men produced appropriate movements, sounds, and words.

This is the foundation of an important thought which Lucretius cherishes and utters again and again.³ The "letters"—this name covering at the same time what we call letters and sounds—are the elements of language, a limited number producing the abundance of words and verses. Thus they are an image of the atoms producing the world. To be sure, the variety of the atoms is inconceivably greater and so many causes as *concursum motus ordo positura figurae* (I, 685 = II, 1021) are required to combine them into the nature of things, while language comes into being merely by the order, *ordine solo* (I, 827), of its few letters.

The poet gives an example of this scheme (I, 907 ff.). Change neighborhood, position, motion, and the same atoms may produce both fire and wood, *ignes et lignum*, just as the words *ligna et ignis* have the same elements, small changes producing the distinction. The basis for this (sit venia verbo) atomology was laid early in the poem. In his polemic against Anaxagoras Lucretius had stated that one should find small particles of fire in wood, *in lignis . . . ignis* (891-2), if the theory of the *homoeomeriae* were right. And again (901): *non est lignis tamen insitus ignis*. The similarity of sound failing to support the wrong doctrine of Anaxagoras does support the orthodoxy of Democritus and Epicurus. It is understood that the poet bears in mind this significant similarity when in the second book (II, 386 f.) he contrasts the delicate and therefore more penetrating fire of the lightning with the coarser fire originating in wood: *ignis / noster hic e lignis ortus*.

In his merciless physiology of love Lucretius compares the

³ Lucretius, I, 196 ff., 823 ff., 907 ff., II, 686 ff., 1013 ff. are the main instances. The texts are collected and the question is discussed by Diels, *Elementum*, pp. 5 ff. Diels bars for himself the way to the problem with which this paper is concerned by labelling Lucretius' combination of *ignes et lignum* a pun (Wortwitz). The poet never was more serious.

stroke of love to the stroke of arms (IV, 1049 ff.). If a man is struck in battle the red fluid (*umor*) spurts out in the direction of the stroke. If a man is struck by love he wants to throw the fluid (*umorem*) from his body into the body which has darted love (*amorem*) on him:

namque voluptatem praesagit muta cupido.

Then the description of the process is discontinued for a moment:

Haec Venus est nobis, hinc autemst nomen Amoris,
hinc illaec primum Veneris dulcedinis in cor
stillavit gutta . . . (1058 ff.)

and the process goes on. Interpreters usually refer *haec* to *voluptatem*, *hinc* to *cupido* of the preceding verse.⁴ But *haec* . . . *hinc* . . . *hinc* . . . refer to the whole preceding process and *nomen Amoris* is not Cupido but just "the name Amor." By *hinc est nomen Amoris* the poet points to the twice-repeated *umor* (1051, 1056), as a few lines later he will again put side by side *umorem*—*amore* (1065-6).

The invisible must be interpreted from the visible. The wind, for example, is a kind of stream (I, 277 ff.). The winds *fluunt*, the water moves *flumine abundanti* and overthrows *quidquid fluctibus obstat*. This exposition culminates in the outspoken parallelism *flamen*—*flumen*, symbolizing the parallelism of the subjects (291 f.):

sic igitur debent venti quoque flamina ferri;
quae veluti validum cum flumen procubere . . .

Among the different origins of lightning there is one (VI, 295 ff.):

cum vis extrinsecus incita venti
incidit in validam maturo culmine nubem;
quam cum perscidit extemplo cadit igneus ille
vertex quem patrio vocitamus nomine fulmen.

The reference to the native tongue⁵ stresses the etymological value of the juxtaposition of *culmen* and *fulmen*.

⁴ So Munro (and Ernout). Giussani is on the right track: "Venus, cioè l'amore di fatto cioè che c'è di vero e reale nell'amore, non è che *iacere umorem in corpus de corpore ductum* e la *voluptas* che ci va unita." Yet he does not follow up the clue but changes *nomen* into *momen*, failing to understand the significance of *nomen amoris*.

⁵ Giussani at least saw that here something is to be explained: "Anche l'espressione *quem patrio* . . . dopo tanto parlare di fulmini ha

The peculiarity of the corporeal is resistance, ἀντιστά (I, 336 ff.) :

... officium quod corporis exstat
officere atque obstare ...⁶

One may imagine that Lucretius would have liked to find the notion of resistance in the very word *corpus* but that he succeeded in discovering it only in the paraphrase *officium corporis*, these two words being as nearly connected as e. g. *animi natura*, *umor aquae*, *taedai corpore*, etc.⁷

While the Romans sharply distinguish between *religio* and *superstitio*, Lucretius never has the second word. Both notions being one to him he has made *Religio* the bearer of all his hatred. Yet in his grandiose image of this all-oppressing daemon he has purposely fixed an etymology of *superstitio*, thus stressing the identity of both of them (I, 64 ff.) :

gravi sub RELIGIONE
quae caput a CAELI REGIONIBUS ostendebat
horribili *super* aspectu mortalibus instans.

The hint was understood in antiquity. Servius (in *Aen.* VIII, 187) quotes Lucretius as supporting his etymology: *SUPERSTITIO est SUPERSTANTIIUM rerum, i. e. caelestium et divinarum quae SUPER nos STANT, inanis et SUPERfluus timor.*⁸ But the same verses seem to contain an etymology of *religio* too. The similarity of sounds between *RELIGIONE* and *caeli REGIONIBUS* haunts the ear once one becomes aware of it. It can hardly be a mere affair of sounds. The sounds will express a reality, the fact that religion derives from the heavenly region. The inference is that Lucretius has combined the etymology of *religio* and of *superstitio* in one pattern.⁹

qui dello strano e del posticcio." His reference to the unfinished state, to be sure, is wrong.

⁶ "One of his favorite plays on words," Munro. "Nota il guoco di parole," Giussani.

⁷ Cf. A. Ernout, *Lucrèce, De Rerum Natura, Commentaire* (Paris, 1925), p. xxxix.

⁸ Cf. J. Bernays, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 6. The intention of Lucretius cannot be doubted. I, 932 very probably contains a hint at the etymology *religio a religando*, but only an indirect one in the words *nodis exsolvere*. (A similar hint I find in V, 114, *religione refrenatus*.) VI, 382 has nothing to do with *indigitamenta*.

⁹ It is a truism that an ancient etymologist does not see why one

Lucretius "again and again" (V, 821) uses the expression *maternum nomen* in such a way that one cannot fail to hear in it both *mater* and *terra*.

linquitur ut merito maternum nomen adepta
terra sit, e terra quoniam sunt cuncta creata (V, 795 f.)
quare etiam atque etiam: maternum nomen adepta
terra tenet merito, quoniam genus ipsa creavit (V, 821 f.)

Consequently the famous passage about the matrimony of Heaven and Earth (II, 991 ff.) must be read in the same manner:

umoris guttas Mater cum Terra recepit (II, 993)¹⁰
quapropter merito maternum nomen adepta est (998)

The poet feels the motherhood of earth guaranteed since language has formed the word *ma-ternus* or even the word *ma-ter*.¹¹

The etymological inclination does not stop short even of proper names:

Ennius ut noster cecinit, qui primus amoeno
detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam (I, 117 f.)

and

spatium praemonstra, callida Musa
Calliope (VI, 93)

The consonance is so obvious that one is astonished to find the

etymology should exclude the other; on the contrary, two are better than one. Plato's *Cratylus* gives an abundance of examples. Lucretius combined the traditional etymology of *religio a religando* with a new (?) one *a caeli regionibus*.

¹⁰ The editors of Lucretius have a queer dislike of capitals in what we call personifications, thus supporting the philosopher against the poet. No editor of any other poem would hesitate to print *Amoris* in V, 1075 or *Discordia* in V, 440. (Since *Discordia* is the *Neikos* of Empedocles, *quorum* depends upon *intervalla vias*, etc., not upon *Discordia*.)

¹¹ It will not be fortuitous either that in each case *merito* appears in the vicinity of *maternum*. *Merito maternum* twice accentuates the suggestive consonants *m* and *t*, i.e. the initial letters of *Mater Terra*. (One may restrict the name "alliteration" to the beginnings of words. But there is not the slightest reason to confine one's attention to these alliterations in the restricted sense.) Perhaps it is not fortuitous either that in the passage about the Phrygian Mother (II, 698 ff.) Lucretius says only *mater* . . . *dicta est* and *hanc vocitant matrem*, since there was no *terra* inducing *maternum nomen*.

commentators almost silent. I should suppose that they failed to hear it because such "puns" if heard would have been unworthy of their author. For Lucretius they were not puns but a reality of language and nature. The invocations of his beloved Empedocles (Frag. 131)¹² which he cherished in his memory:

ἄμβροτε Μοῦσα

and

εὐχομένην νῦν αὖτε παρίστασο Καλλιόπεια

he fused into

currenti spatium praemonstra callida Musa / Calliope.

In the name Calliope he heard the Latin word expressing her skill. Calliope is clever: *callidus* occurs only once in the whole poem—in order to express this very truth. Ennius is an eternal poet. A similar chance joined the atoms into the shape of this poet and the atoms of language into his name expressing his eternity.

In the episode *De Matre Magna* (II, 600 ff.) Lucretius emphasizes the fact that her servants, the Curetes, have a Greek name (629 f.). Later on he interprets their armed appearance as the will of the goddess that one should defend one's country:

praesidioque parent decorique parentibus esse.

The assonance *parent parentibus* is strange, the average opinion labelling it as a pun is insufficient, and the stress on the parents needs an explanation too. Why not wife and children? One can and must explain the two riddles at the same time: the poet wants to etymologize the Κούρητες as κοῦροι;¹³ being sons or youngsters they must defend just their parents. The reader would not understand this meaning (as nobody seems to have understood it) if attention had not been called to *parentes* by the preceding *parent*. "Preparedness for the parents" is the essence of the Curetes. That may be mannered or not; in any case it illuminates the etymological aim of the poet.

Lucretius in his general use of etymology is not very different

¹² F. Jobst, *Über das Verhältnis zwischen Lucretius und Empedokles*, Dissertation Erlangen, 1907, p. 14: "Auch die Anrufung der Kalliope darf man nicht auf eine Nachahmung des Empedokles zurückführen." I think just the opposite is evident.

¹³ Cf. e. g. Strabo, X, 468.

from his contemporary Varro¹⁴ or from any other ancient etymologist. What is his own—besides his *furor arduus*—is the connection of this etymology with his atomism. We may expect to find more evidence in the chapter *De figura atomorum* (II, 333 ff.).

In the principal opposition between sweet and bitter there is on the one hand milk and honey:

Huc accedit uti mellis lactisque liquores
IUCUNDO sensu linguae tractentur in ore (II, 398 f.)
ut facile agnoscas e levibus atque RUTUNDIS
esse ea quae sensus IUCUNDE tangere possint (402 f.)

On the other hand we have wormwood and centaury:

at contra taetra absinthi natura ferique
centauri foedo pertorquent ora sapore (II, 400 f.)
at contra quae AMARA atque aspera cumque videntur
haec magis AMATIS inter se nexa teneri (404 f.)

Round atoms are pleasant to the taste, hooked atoms are bitter. The linguistic similarity of *iucundus*—*rūtundus* and *āmarus*—*āmatus* emphasizes the fact.

But of course the similarity of words is only the most obvious mark in this province. Hardly less important is the abundance of smaller congruities. *mellis lactisque liquores . . . linguae*: the poet enjoys the sound of the liquids melting with the labial nasal.¹⁵ Yet here it is not the mere pattern of sound which

¹⁴ Cf. H. Dahlmann, *Varro und die hellenistische Sprachtheorie* (*Problemata*, Heft 5), pp. 1 ff.

¹⁵ Everyone who has a tongue and an ear must combine the double *l* of *mellis* with the beginning *l*'s of the following words. Therefore I entirely disagree with the tendency to restrict the phenomenon under discussion to the repetitions "de phonèmes initiaux, à l'exclusion de toute assonance intérieure ou finale" (A. Cordier, *L'Allitération Latine*, 1939, p. 9). This tendency has its main foothold in the rich collections of Ed. Wölflin, "Ueber die allitterierenden Verbindungen der lateinischen Sprache," *Sitzungsb. d. bay. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1881, Bd. 2, pp. 1 ff. Take at haphazard a few examples: *acer atque acerbus*, *acute arguteque*, *amens amans*, *actor auctor*, *faciendum fugiendum*, *fides fiducia*, *forte fortuna*, etc. It is obvious that these pairs are united not merely by the coincidence of the initial sounds. The analogy of the German "Stabreim," important as it is, must not bias the whole of the observation.—For the effect of the *l*, cf. Dionys. Hal., *De Comp. Verb.*, 14 (p. 54, 11 U-R): ἡδύνηι τὴν ἀκοὴν τὸ ἄ καὶ ἔστι τῶν ἡμιφώνων

appeals to his ear. The *mel* and *lac* and *liquor* and *lingua* seek one another in sounds as they do in nature. The elements of the words appeal to the tongue and the ears as the atoms of the corresponding things appeal to the tongue and its taste.

"Instead"—*AT CONTRA*: already in this twice repeated formula the ear feels a kind of offense. The harsh *tc* and *tr* are at once echoed in *taetra* and later continued in the *rt* and *rq* of the rare *PERTORQUENT*,¹⁶ and perhaps in the *r*'s of *natura ferique centauri*. The double consonants in *absinthi* may fit into the sharp melody of sound. A little later (410 ff.) we have the same contrast of sharp *s*'s and *r*'s and their combination in *serrae stridentis acerbum horrorem* contrasting with the gliding *l*'s and *m*'s of *elementis levibus aequae ac musaea mele*. And again (415) we have the sharp sounds of *taetra cadavera torrent* though this time the contrast is not so impressive in *croco Cilici*. The vowel *a* per se has no definite cachet; but since it is in *At* and *Amara Atque Aspera*, etc. it may turn into an expressive sound (the short *a* more than the long). The assonances *liquores*—in *ORE* (398-9) and *ORA sapore* (401) are no mere play of sounds either; they seem to be expressive too, symbolizing the necessary connection of mouth, taste, and fluid.

In 422 ff. we follow the same trend again. The parallel connection of atoms and sensation is expressed by the parallel construction and the similarity of the endings: *quae mulcet cumque . . . levore creatast; quae cumque . . . constat . . . squalore repertast*. The opposite qualities of the two kinds of atoms are made sensible here by the liquids: *mulcet, principali Aliquo Levore*, there by the sharp double consonants: *molesta aspera constat squalore repertast*. The third kind of atoms which the poet introduces in this passage is neither smooth nor sharp but tickling the senses: *angellis, titillare, fecula, inulae* are the most impressive words both in content and in sound. It

γλυκύτατον. The labial nasal *m* in *mellis* joins with the liquids. Cf. M. Grammont, *Traité de Phonétique* (Paris, 1933), p. 408: "Les consonnes nasales, grâce à la mollesse de leur articulation, sont propres à exprimer . . . la douceur, la mollesse."—I wish here to express my gratitude to Leo Spitzer for his criticisms and suggestions.

¹⁶ *Pertorquet* is used a second time in all that is left of Roman literature in Afranius' *Abducta*, Frag. I Ribbeck: *quam senticosa verba pertorquet turba*. Though the metre is obscure and the sense not very clear either, the very sound might be in favor of *turba*.

is quite possible that this third kind is not so easy to discriminate from the first as the first from the second; but then you must sharpen your ears as you may cultivate your taste.

We stressed and tried to explain the assonances *liquores—in ore* at the end of two consecutive verses (398 f.) and *ora—sapore* in one verse (401). It is not likely either that when Lucretius moulded the ends of two successive verses into the rhyme *odores—colores* he merely yielded to a sensory propensity. Of course he liked such sounds as much as Vergil disliked them. But they are meant to express a reality too: the parallelism of the opposite smells and the opposite colors, the contrasts in both fields originating in the respective contrasts of atoms. The passage 730-864 excels in the same pattern of sound which is at the same time a pattern of thought or of reality—reality being the atoms. In those 135 verses one counts thirty-five words of the form *colore(m-s) nitore(m) odorem(-s) liquorem vaporem*, taking into account only the ends of the verses. Of course one can say that Lucretius yields where Vergil resists. But when he yielded he followed the nature of things (I, 907 ff.): *quo pacto verba quoque ipsa inter se paulo mutatis sunt elementis*.

A wide prospect opens. It is a matter of fact that not all the material labelled by Miss Deutsch as "pattern of sound" is to be interpreted in the new sense. Yet much of it can. To be sure, between the one sphere where the phenomenon is restricted to a mere acoustic or musical pleasure and the other where it becomes the expression of a fact in nature, a broad boundary stretches, which it would be unwise to assign to either of the two sides. Our interpretation may and perhaps must overemphasize the facts. But it is better to run this risk than to close ears and eyes to the reality. Only a few remarks will be made before leaving the task to the future readers of the poet.

To return to *callida—Calliope* (VI, 93 f.): no doubt Lucretius felt and wanted us to feel the kinship of the two words and of the two facts which they represent. Neither can there be any doubt that he gives the tone with *ad candida calcis currenti* and that he echoes it with *capiam cum laude coronam*. The accord of the *c's* is unmistakable. It is hard to fancy that he did not connect a meaning with the pattern. *Candida calcis* means the end of the poem, *ad candida calcis currere* is the way of the poet, *capiam cum laude coronam* aims at the poet's reward. It goes

without saying that the *c* has no more natural affinity with the idea of poetry than has any other letter of the alphabet. But since the poet puts *Calliope* in the middle strengthened by *callida*, the surrounding court of *c*'s becomes expressive through the very force of the center.¹⁷

We remember the passage of the second book dealing with the contrast of honey and wormwood. The same contrast occurs in the prooemium of the fourth book (which Lucretius later transferred to the first) as a simile illustrating the severity of the doctrine and the sweetness of the poetical form:

*lucida pango
carmina musaeo contingens cuncta lepore.*

The *l* of the first word joins with the *l* of the last, three *c*'s surrounding the central *musaeo*, which so far remains without resonance. In the simile the similarity is stressed by the repetition of *contingunt*, which is followed by a comet's tail of *l*'s:¹⁸

contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore

continued a little later with *Ludificetur Laborum tenuis*. The *m* of *mellis* remains without respiration, as did *musaeo* before; but some verses later both are united in one verse circulating again around *contingere*:

et quasi musaeo dulci contingere melle.

The opposite side dealing with the bitterness is much less elaborated than in the second book. Yet the sounds are the same: *absinthia taetra* (IV, 11 = I, 936) which not only means ugly but also has that sound, and *amarum absinthii laticem* with its sharp *a*'s (IV, 15 = I, 940)—sharp not so much by their own nature as because of the significance of the words in question. There can be no doubt that these different sounds had very spe-

¹⁷ Cf. M. Grammont, *op. cit.* (see note 15 *supra*), p. 404: "... il est reconnu que les poètes dignes de ce nom possèdent un sentiment délicat et pénétrant de la valeur impressionnante des mots et des sons qui les composent; pour communiquer cette valeur à ceux qui les lisent, il leur arrive souvent de répercuter autour du mot principal les phonèmes qui le caractérisent, en sorte que ce mot devient en somme le générateur du vers tout entier dans lequel il figure. . . ."

¹⁸ Concerning *flavogue* cf. Grammont, *op. cit.* (see note 15 *supra*), p. 411: "La combinaison de *f* avec *l* réunit le souffle à la liquidité, ce qui donne l'impression de la fluidité."

cific cachets—not always the same, to be sure—in the poet's mind or sense. One cannot fail to hear the similar double consonants and *a*'s (rising out of a series of *o*'s) in a passage combining sharp odors (IV, 123 ff.):

suo de corpore odorem
expirant *Acrem, panaces, Absinthia taetra,*
habrotonique graves et tristia centaurea

or the terrible sound of

in *baratrum* nec *Tartara* deditur *atra* (III, 966)

where the terribleness is guaranteed, if that be necessary, by the famous line of Ennius (*Ann.* 140):

at tuba terribili sonitu *taratantara* dixit.

Or observe both the meanings and the sounds of words with which *taeter* is combined: in *Tartara taetra* (V, 1126); *stercore de taetro* (II, 874); *taetro quasi conspurcare sapore* (VI, 22); *taetro concrescere odore* (VI, 807); *at contra nobis caenum taeterrima cum sit spurcicies* (VI, 976). Or hear the wind in verses like

validi vis incita venti	(VI, 137)
principio venti vis verberat incita pontum	(I, 271)
vis violenti per mare venti	(V, 1226)

The *v*'s give a blowing sound, the *i*'s whistle, and the rhyme *violenti—venti* stresses the natural relationship between violence and wind (giving, moreover, if I can trust my feeling, a swinging movement suited to wind and waves). Let us not do injustice to the poet. It is understood that no one should imagine him eagerly seeking and toilsomely combining sounds of words in order to imitate sounds in nature. He probably did that just as much and as little as Shakespeare:

When the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees,

or Sainte-Beuve¹⁹:

Dans les buissons séchés la bise va sifflant,

or Homer:

ιστρία δέ σφιν
τριχθα τε καὶ τετραχθα διέσχισε (f) ἰς ἀνέμοιο,

or Goethe:

¹⁹ Quoted by Grammont, *op. cit.* (see note 15 *supra*), p. 391.

Du liebes Kind, komm geh mit mir!
 Gar schöne Spiele spiel ich mit dir

(where the poet himself states his intention: In dürrer Blättern säuselt der Wind). The music of the wind blew through the mind of these poets a similar melody with different keys.²⁰ It is evident too that Lucretius did not aim merely at the external sound. He uses a similar pattern describing the storm of the lover:

vel violenta viri vis atque impensa libido (V, 964)

or the energy of the discoverer:

ergo vivida vis animi pervicit (I, 72)

For it is the same force moving as wind in nature and as *ventus vitalis in ipso corpore* (III, 128) and appearing as sound in the work of the poet.

Lucretius has a queer inclination for the old-fashioned phrase *multis modis* or *multimodis*. It gains expressive strength when he combines it first with *multa*, secondly with *mutata* or *mixta* or *minuta*, thirdly with *semina* or *primordia*. So one sees what drives him to use such verses again and again, e. g.

semina multimodis in rebus mixta teneri (IV, 644)

sed quia multa modis multis mutata per omne . . . (I, 1024)

propterea quia multa modis primordia multis
 mixta . . . (IV, 1220 f.)

multa modis multis multarum semina rerum
 quod permixta gerit tellus . . . (VI, 789 f.)

Not through the nature of the sound but through the associative force of alliteration do the *m*'s become for Lucretius a badge of the atoms. To this scheme by other artistic measures he gives such an astonishing extension as

²⁰ For this creative act onomatopoeia is a modern and bad expression, the Greek rhetoricians using the word in a much more appropriate manner. Cf. e. g. Quintilian, VIII, 6, 31: *Onomatopoeia, id est fictio nominis, Graecis inter maximas habita virtutes nobis via permittitur*, etc. and I, 5, 72; *Rhetores Graeci*, edd. Spengel-Hammer, I, p. 368; *Rhet. Gr.*, ed. Spengel, III, p. 196. The notion of "making words" is present everywhere. Grammont, *op. cit.* (see note 15 *supra*), pp. 377 ff. ("Phonétique impressive") rightly distinguishes between *onomatopée* and *mot impressive*.

adiutamur enim dubio procul atque alimur nos
 certis ab rebus, certis aliae atque aliae res.
 nimirum, quia multa modis communia multis
 multarum rerum in rebus primordia mixta
 sunt, ideo variis variae res rebus aluntur (I, 812 ff.)

He interlaces the *m*-words (*multa—communia—primordia, modis—multis*), combines them with the doubling of different forms of *res* which he varies three times and accompanies with doublings of *certus, alius, varius*, establishing an image of the world of atoms through the sounds and the order of words.²¹

A remarkable variation of the same scheme we hear finally in the description of the sun motes used as a simile of the moving atoms (II, 116 ff.): first the chain of *m*'s

multa minuta modis multis per inane videtis
 corpora misceri;

then a pattern of words meaning struggle and impressing upon the senses sounds like *ter, cer, tur*, and *t*'s and *p*'s

et velut aeterno certamine proelia pugnas
 edere turmatim certantia;

at last the unique and beautiful

conciliis et discidiis exercita crebris,

the opposite prefixes *con-* and *dis-* joining with almost the identical root words *-ciliis, -cidiis* which by their very sound and rhythm tickle the ear as the motes glitter in the eye.

A *Venere finis*. It is understood that Lucretius felt the significance or significances of her name, the main province of ancient etymology being the names of the gods.²² Varro (*De Lingua Latina*, V, 61) etymologizes Venus as the force of tying together fire and water, man and woman: *horum vinctiois vis Venus*. He contents himself with the twofold *v* and with the assonance *vin—ven* (cf. Plautus, *Trin.*, 658: *vi Veneris vinctus*), whereas the much more banal etymology in Cicero's *De Natura*

²¹ Munro: "Assonances and alliterations of all kinds seem to possess for Lucretius an irresistible attraction." Giussani: "Nota la ripetizione e l'intreccio di *res multus varius* à far più viva l'immagine della cosa descritta."

²² Plato, *Cratylus* 400 D-408 D. Cf. M. Warburg, *Zwei Fragen zum Kratylus* (*Neue Philologische Untersuchungen*, Heft 5), pp. 63 ff.

Deorum (III, 662) *Venus quia venit* utilizes the whole root. Lucretius could not stop his etymological vein just short of Venus. When he writes (I, 227)

unde animale *genus generatim* in lumina vitae
reducit *Venus*,

he feels her name blending almost the whole of *genus* (stressed by the repetition of *gen-*) with the alliterative beginning of *vita*. Again he connects *vita*, *voluptas*, and *genus* with *Venus* (II, 172):

ipsaque deducit dux vitae dia *Voluptas*
et res per *Veneris* blanditur saecula propagent,
ne *genus* occidat humanum

or he seems to replace *voluptas* by *iuvare* in II, 437:

aut iuvat egrediens *genitales* per *Veneris* res.

The Homeric formula ἔργα Ἀφροδίτης has in its Latin translation RES per VENERIS and still more per VENERIS RES a very expressive sound—expressive only in general or expressing something?

There is a strong presumption that the first prooemium, too, must contain such *lumina ingenii etymologici*; but I refrain from attempts to dissect them. Nor do I follow up the traces of other more or less significant sounds spread over the prooemium. This is only a secondary melody in the orchestra and modern readers may fail to perceive it or may sometimes even dislike it. There may be a danger too of hearing the grass grow, and I am not quite sure whether this danger has been avoided throughout. But the danger of seeing too little is much greater, as this paper will have demonstrated. One may minimize each single case, but on the whole one should not fail to become aware of what Lucretius has expressly stated to be the very nature of language.

And perhaps it is the nature of language. He may express it in the wrong way because he expresses it in the terms of his atomistic theory. But the poet in him is wiser than the philosopher. And one may look upon his pattern of sound as a symbol of the fact that poetry is very likely to repeat the creative work of language on a different level. Let Friedrich Rückert, the greatest artificer in German poetry, plead the case of the poet:²³

²³ Friedrich Rückert, *Die Weisheit des Brahmanen*, Erste Stufe, 55. Rückert, being a Mainfranke, rhymed *angemessen* with *Bahn gemessen*.

Das Wortspiel schelten sie, doch scheint es angemessen
Der Sprache, welche ganz hat ihre Bahn gemessen.

Dass sie vom Anbeginn, eh' es ihr war bewusst,
Ein dunkles Wortspiel war, wird ihr nun klar bewusst.

Womit unwissentlich sie allerorten spielen,
Komm und geflissentlich lass uns mit Worten spielen!

This is the fundamental aspect which one must bear in mind lest one misjudge the pattern of sound as a mannerism in Lucretius. The second point is the well known peculiarity of Latin, or more correctly of the Italic languages, that they, much more than Greek, yielded to the magic of sounds. The prayers and spells, the legal formulas and the instructions of the priests with their ornaments of assonances, rhymes, alliterations, *figurae sermonis* set for the poets and writers of Rome a cast of solemn speech never to be forgotten.²⁴ The third aspect is the atomistic doctrine of language providing Lucretius with a rational bond by which to connect his most personal pattern of sound with the philosophy he professed.²⁵ The fourth aspect is the inexplicable individuality of his tone.

Another Tennyson could imagine the Roman poet haunted by the crowd of sounds, smooth or harsh, struggling and craving for each other, cajoling or wounding the ear, deceiving and telling the truth, forming words, and words into verses, and verses into the most extraordinary poem of Rome.

²⁴ Cf. C. Thulin, *Italische sakrale Poesie und Prosa* (1906); Fr. Leo, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, I, pp. 34 ff.; Ed. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, pp. 359 ff.; Ed. Norden, *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern* (*Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis*, XXIX), *passim*. It may not be useless to add a few words from a rather remote text, *The Johns Hopkins Tabellae Defixionum*, Supplement to *A. J. P.*, XXXIII (1912), by W. S. Fox: . . . *eripias salutem, corpus colorem, vires virtutes . . . tradas illunc febris quartanae tertianae cottidianae, quas cum illo luctent deluctent, illum devincant vincant . . .* (*deluctent* is a probable restoration of the editor. I think the original form must have run *vincant devincant*). A trace in Lucretius: H. Hafter, *Untersuchungen zur altlateinischen Dichtersprache* (*Problemata*, Heft 10), p. 81. Lucretius, I, 1105, *neve ruant* suggests *neve lue rue* in the *Carmen arvale*; but the resemblance may be fortuitous.

²⁵ The lost book of Democritus, *Περὶ εὐφώνων καὶ δυσφώνων γραμμάτων* (*Vorsokratiker*, Frag. 18 b ff.) may have contained the theory of what is practice and art in Lucretius. In the same line seems to be Philodemus, *Περὶ ποιημάτων* col. 24, Hausrath.

APPENDIX I.

ORTHOGRAPHICA.

- ... in cunctas undique *partis*
 plura modo *dispargit* ... (II, 1134 f.)
 et *dispargitur* ad *partis* ... (IV, 875)

Dispargit(ur) is the tradition of the MSS in both places. The relationship in sound and significance between *pars* and *dispar-gere* is obvious. It is very unlikely, therefore, that Lucretius did *not* write or at least pronounce

- in *parvas partes* *dispargitur* (I, 309)

where the MSS have *dispergitur*. In other places the tradition agrees either in *dispergitur* or, much more seldom, in *dispargitur* without evidence in either direction.

- ... *corpora* posse
vorti ... (II, 744 f.)
 ... *vortitur orbis* (V, 510)

So the MSS, which in other places agree in *vertice*. The editor will generally respect such an agreement. But II, 744 f. makes it unlikely that in II, 879 f. Lucretius did *not* intend

- ... *cibos* in *corpora* viva
vortit ...

where the MSS agree in *vertit*. Then 875 must follow:

- ... *vortunt pecudes* in *corpora* nostra,

and the whole passage from 874 on must run in the darker tone. In V, 277 the MSS have

- ... *vortex versatur* in alto (arto ci. Lachmann)

which probably was *vortex vorsatur* or less probably *vertex versatur*. In I, 293 f.

- ... interdum *vortice torto*
corripiunt rapideque rotanti turbine portant

I have changed the reading *vertice* of the MSS. One must think of *Aeneid*, I, 116 f.

- ... *illam ter fluctus ibidem*
torquet agens circum et rapidus vorat aequore vortex.

Here the MSS agree in *vortex*, a few lines before they offer in I, 114

... ingens a vertice pontus,

no assonances asking for *vortice*.²⁶ In Lucretius, IV, 899 f.

... tantum corpus corpuscula possunt
contorquere et onus totum convertere nostrum

it is not unlikely either that *convortere* was intended by the poet. On the other hand, in VI, 114 f.

aut ubi suspensam vestem chartasque volantis
verberibus venti versant

both tradition and sound guarantee the *e* in *versant*. In *Aeneid*, VII, 566 f.

urget utrimque latus nemoris medioque fragorus
dat sonitum saxi et torto vortice torrens

and Catullus, 68, 107 f.

tanto te absorbens vortice amoris
aestus in abruptum detulerat baratrum

Forcellini in the *Lexicon* prints *vortice* against the MSS, but following the trace of sound. To be sure, the attitude of Vergil differs from that of Lucretius; but *Aeneid*, I, 116 f. quoted above supports the orthography *vortice* in VII, 567.

Incidentally, this appendix will have made it clear that it is wrong to state: "*vorto* is in all probability a mere matter of spelling; the Present was always pronounced with *e*" (Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 467). The grammarian should listen to the sound of poetry.

²⁶ The statement of Caper, *Grammatici Latini*, ed. Keil, VII, 99, 11: *vortex fluminis est, vertex capitis* is likely to be an artificial distinction. Cf. Felix Solmsen, *Studien zur latein. Lautgeschichte*, p. 21; E. Kieckers, *Historische lateinische Grammatik*, I, p. 53. Solmsen's own statement: "Der Grund, weshalb der Dichter zu der altertümlichen Form griff, liegt in dem Gleichklang von *vortex* mit *vorat*" is right but not sufficient. The assonances in *torquet* and *aequore* are not less important. The same inadequate limitation in A. Cordier, *L'Allitération Latine* (1939), pp. 38, 70. Cf. notes 11 and 15.

APPENDIX II.

LUCRETII I, 942 = IV, 17.

sed potius tali STACTO recreata valescat.

The manuscripts have FACTO in Book I, ATACTO in IV. PACTO is a conjecture of Heinsius accepted by almost all editors. As a matter of fact, no one—I am sorry to say—would be offended by *tali pacto*, if it were the reading of the manuscripts. But no one has tried to explain how such a trivial word should have been corrupted in both passages, in both in a different way, and at least in the second one in such a strange manner. *facto* makes no real sense,²⁷ and the deviation into *atacto* would remain inexplicable. Method demands a word much more difficult for the average reader. My *stacto* would answer this demand. It would imply that *stactum* was used in the general sense of “drops, medicine.” That remains a supposition which so far cannot be proved; but the facts are not unfavorable.

stactum, *stacton* occurs upon pharmaceutical labels²⁸ and in the recipe-books of Scribonius and Marcellus: *stactum opobalsamatum*, *stactum ad caliginem*, *stactum opobalsamatum ad claritatem*, *collyrium stacton*, etc. are eye-drops or eye-salves. But before becoming specialized *στακτόν* must have had a general meaning, which indeed is indicated in the gloss of Hesychius: *στακτόν· τὸ διωλισμένον*. A final verification of the supposed meaning, to be sure, is not available. To appeal to the pattern of sound would be a much too subjective argument. Finally, the fact that Lucretius uses *stacte* for myrrh (II, 847) does by no means prove that he has used *stactum* but implies that he might have used it.

²⁷ The edition of Martin (Teubner, 1934) gives *facto*.

²⁸ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 8734 ff.

APPENDIX III.

LUCRETII, VI, 857 f.

quis queat hic sup̄ tam crasso corpore terram
percoquere humorem et calido suffire vapore?

SOCLARE MSS. SATIARE and SOCIARE are humanists' conjectures, elegant but not pertinent.²⁹ (Bernays' DONARE is neither.) I think it very likely that the senseless letters mean the same verb which occurs in II, 1098

ignibus aetheriis terras suffire feraces.

Lucretius uses *suffire*, which means "to fumigate, to perfume," in order to express his atomistic view of the atoms of fire penetrating the earth or the water, as the particles of perfume penetrate the air. This strange use ("unexampled," Merrill) may probably be explained from the Greek. ἀναθυμιάσθαι, ἀναθυμιάσις is used by Aristotle and the Doxographers mostly when dealing with Presocratic doctrines, and the Greek-English Lexicon even quotes the active ἀναθυμιάω from Theophrastus Περὶ πυρός, Frag. III, 4, 37: συμβαίνει τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου θερμότητα λεπτὴν οὖσαν καὶ μαλακὴν εἰσάγεσθαι κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τοὺς πόρους καὶ ὥσπερ ἀναθυμιάω καὶ ἐπικαίειν τὰ ἐπιπολῆς. Here the metaphor is felt and, as it were, excused. The sense is not quite the same as in Lucretius, but is very similar, the whole sphere (heat—penetration) identical.

The main objection to *suffire* would be palaeographical. But uncial or semiuncial *su* is very near to *soc*, so that only *ffi* has to be restored from *la*, the ending *re* remaining unchanged. In general one should not forget the old rule that the facility of accommodating characters to a conjecture is not always the best guarantee for its being right.³⁰

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²⁹ Lucretius uses *sociare* in a different way. *Sufflare*, suggested by a friend instead of *suffire*, would not do either.

³⁰ Cf. e. g. Wilhelm Schulze, *Kleine Schriften* (Goettingen, 1933), p. 679.

THE ARISTOTELIAN TRADITION IN ANCIENT RHETORIC.

Quintilian in the course of a somewhat sketchy but nevertheless invaluable account of the history of rhetorical theory informs us that after the first generations of rhetoricians had gradually built up the science of rhetoric it split up into two different types—the one represented by Isocrates and his school, the other by Aristotle, his pupils and, later, by other schools of philosophy like the Stoic.¹ In the next paragraph he mentions that a third type came into being with Hermagoras. We are at liberty to combine this piece of information with that found in Cicero's *De inventione*, where in the context of a similar historical sketch we learn that the rhetorical systems of the Aristotelian and Isocratean schools were fused into a new system by the later theorists *qui ab utrisque ea quae commode dici videbantur in suas artes transtulerunt*.² Taken together, these passages seem to provide something like a clue to the history of ancient rhetorical theory, for, even though Cicero may be considered slightly unfair to the originality of later writers on rhetoric, it will certainly be worth while to trace the transformations of the two original systems through the later stages of ancient rhetoric. I am ready to admit that modern writers on the development of ancient rhetoric³ have good reasons for treating the material along rather different lines; yet by doing so they deprive themselves of the opportunity of appreciating the extent to which the two outstanding theorists left their mark on the subsequent phases of the system.

In this paper I have confined myself to tracing the Aristotelian or, rather, Peripatetic influence on the later theories, partly because this is nearer to the line of my own studies in the field of ancient rhetoric, and partly because it seems advisable to attack this subject first, since for the history of the Isocratean tradition

¹ *Inst. orat.*, III, 1, 14 f. Professor Harry Caplan has kindly read the manuscript of this paper which has profited by his suggestions.

² Cicero, *De invent.*, II, 8. Cf. G. L. Hendrickson, *A.J.P.*, XXVI (1905), p. 266.

³ The long felt need for a truly historical treatment of ancient rhetoric has at last been met by Professor Kroll's very valuable article "Rhetorik" in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.-E.* (Suppl. VI).

we lack a starting point of the same solidity and authenticity as Aristotle's three books on rhetoric.⁴ I do not suggest that when the Aristotelian factor has been brought to light the Isocratean may be found by a process of subtraction, but I hope that the direction in which one must look for the Isocratean element will be more obvious when the first half of the job of analysis has been done. Moreover, as a result of the investigations of Hendrickson, Kroll, Barwick, Hinks, and Stroux the material to be used in the reconstruction of the Aristotelian tradition seems to lie more ready at hand than the corresponding material for the Isocratean.⁵ Thanks are due in particular to Professor Stroux for throwing light on the relation between Aristotle's system and that of his Peripatetic disciples,⁶ for his conclusions show (in remarkable agreement with those reached in different fields of the Peripatetic philosophy) that Aristotle's pupils and successors, while keeping alive the master's ideas wherever they could do so with a good conscience, made it their object to fill out gaps which he had left (and frequently indicated as such), to arrange the material more systematically under certain basic categories, and to increase the amount of empirical data to be fitted into the framework of these categories.

Before we enter into an analysis of later *artes* it seems necessary to form as clear a notion as possible of those factors in Aristotle's own *Rhetoric* which are sufficiently original and characteristic to justify our singling them out as his peculiar contributions to the rhetorical system. It would be an impossible (and for our purpose a fruitless) undertaking if we tried to enumerate all those more or less significant details which are or may be new in his work, and we must content ourselves with pointing out the basic and truly epoch-making methodical ideas through which he made of the rhetorical system something very different from what it had been before. I am aware that in

⁴ See, however, Harry M. Hubbell, *The Influence of Isocrates on Cicero, Dionysius and Aristides* (New Haven, 1913).

⁵ In view of the absence of an authentic Isocratean *τέχνη* a thorough and at the same time cautious analysis of Isocrates' "speeches" from the technical point of view would seem necessary.

⁶ Joh. Stroux, *De Theophrasti virtutibus dicendi* (Leipzig, 1912). For the relation between Aristotle and Theophrastus see especially pp. 29-42. Cf. on this point also H. Diels, *Abh. Berl. Akad.*, 1886, pp. 25 ff. and G. L. Hendrickson, *A. J. P.*, XXV (1904), pp. 136 f.

distinguishing between essential and inessential features in his work subjectivity cannot be altogether avoided; yet the following account may not be far from the mark:

1. Aristotle breaks emphatically with the traditional method of organizing the rhetorical material under the heading of the *partes orationis* (μόρια λόγου): proem, narration, etc. We gather from Plato's *Phaedrus* and from Aristotle himself⁷ that some teachers of rhetoric had gone very far in dividing the oration into its parts and subdividing these parts into their various species; but, if it is true that the Isocratean school recognized only four parts—proem, narration, proofs, and epilogue—,⁸ we may regard this as a reaction against the other rhetoricians who, as I have said, went much further. To maintain that the Isocrateans organized their entire material under these headings would be hazardous, but there can be no doubt that this school has left its mark on the theory of the proem, the narration, and the rest, and there are few Hellenistic rhetoricians who do not echo certain fundamental Isocratean precepts for them (e.g. that the narration should avoid unnecessary length, be ἐναργής, πιθανόν, ἡδύ, κτλ.). Although we are not dealing with the Isocratean tradition, we have to bear these facts in mind in order to understand Aristotle against the right background.

Aristotle is no less scornful than Plato in castigating the superficiality of this approach and the lack of a clear conception of the essential functions of a speech which it betrays.⁹ In his *Poetics* Aristotle looks on tragedy as a *totum et unum* and concentrates on those features which are essential to tragedy as such,

⁷ See Plato, *Phaedrus* 266 d-267 d; Aristotle, *Rhet.* A 1, 1354 b 16-19. Cf. O. Navarre's admirable reconstruction of these systems (*Essai sur la rhétorique grecque* [Paris, 1900], pp. 211-327) and see also Hendrickson, *A. J. P.*, XXVI (1905), pp. 250 f.

⁸ Dionysius' testimony (*De Lys.* 16 ff.) is borne out by what we know about Theodectes' τέχνη (see especially the evidence in Rose, *Aristotelis Fragmenta*, 133 or in Rabe's *Prolegg. Sylloge*, 32, 216).

⁹ *Rhet.* A 1, 1354 b 16-1355 a 1; Γ 13, 1414 b 13-18; Γ 14, 1415 b 4-9. In this paper I take Aristotle's *Rhetoric* as a unity and a whole without going into the questions concerning the development of Aristotle's theories which I have treated elsewhere (*Die Entwicklung d. aristot. Logik und Rhetorik* [Berlin, 1929]). From the point of view of the Aristotelian "tradition" these questions seem irrelevant as there is no evidence that they ever bothered later rhetoricians.

i. e. to the idea of tragedy: plot, characters, and the other like elements. The external (or quantitative) parts of a tragedy such as the prologue and episodes he relegates to one chapter (12) and treats them as a matter of secondary importance.¹⁰ Similarly, in the *Rhetoric* he assigns the "parts of a speech" their place in the third main section of the work where he discusses "disposition,"¹¹ but organizes the whole material under categories representing essential qualities or functions of any speech. In every speech the orator must seek to prove his point, to produce a definite emotional reaction in his audience, to convey an impression of the speaker's character. Also, every speech must have a definite style and a disposition; it is here that the "parts" get their due, yet even here only the really essential and more or less indispensable ones.¹² Thus, in opposition to the old *τέχνη* where the material was arranged under "proem," "narration," "proofs," "epilogue," or even more parts, a new type comes into existence, consisting of three main parts: Proofs (or material content), Style, and Disposition. The "proofs" have not much more than the name in common with the "proofs" in the alternative system; "proofs" are no longer a part but a function of the speech, and Aristotle's "proofs" are subdivided into the theories of the rhetorical argument, of the emotions (*πάθη*), and of the speaker's character (*ἦθος*), since these three factors should combine to make the speech effective. We may

¹⁰ Cf. my paper on "The Origins and Methods of Aristotle's *Poetics*," in *Class. Quart.*, XXIX (1935), pp. 192-201.

¹¹ Γ 13-19.

¹² See especially *Rhet.* A 2, 1356 a 1-27 and Γ 1, 1403 b 6-18, 1404 a 8-12 and 13. It has been pointed out by Volkmann (*Rhetorik d. Griechen und Römer*, p. 17) that the *Rhetorica ad Alex.* may be divided into sections dealing with A) *πράγματα*, B) *λέξεις*, and C) *τάξις*, but the fact is that its author does not seem to have been aware of this. He certainly makes no attempt to establish a rational division of his subject, still less to deduce the necessity of such a division. Whether or not rhetorical systems before Aristotle included anything comparable to *ad Alex.* 2-7 and to what extent they had gone beyond organizing the entire material under the "parts of the speech" is a question which we can hardly attempt to answer. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* bears the mark of philosophical reasoning, whereas the average *τέχνη* developed out of practical needs and practical habits. To divide the *τέχνη* into proem, narration, proofs, etc. is to follow the way in which anyone however untrained would state his case before a jury.

note that Aristotle draws attention to a further factor worthy of the same standing in the system as "proofs," "style," and "disposition," namely the delivery (*ὑπόκρισις*), yet he refrains from actually working this out.¹³

This entirely new approach to rhetoric is, like the new approach to poetry, obviously based on Aristotle's conception of a thing's organic unity as implying a principle of structure and being different from a mere accumulation of its parts. We know this conception from the *Metaphysics*¹⁴ where it is an integral phase of Aristotle's notion of an entity.

2. The system of "proofs" (*πίστεις*) may be called the core of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. As we have seen, the "proofs" are subdivided into three kinds: the rhetorical argument, the arousing of emotions, and the speaker's character. In dealing with the first Aristotle again makes a new departure: He bases the theory of the rhetorical argument on his logic, that is on his dialectic and analytics. The "enthymeme" which with other rhetoricians had been merely a particular way of formulating a thought (in other words, a concept of a stylistic rather than logical complexion)¹⁵ turns with him into the rhetorical syllogism and has to be constructed in close analogy to the logical syllogism, even though in formulating it one of the premises may, if self-evident, be omitted. Similarly the rhetorical *παράδειγμα* is made to correspond to the logical induction (*ἐπαγωγή*).¹⁶

¹³ T 1, 1403 b 21-36.

¹⁴ See e.g. *Metaph.* Z 17, especially 1041 b 11-33, where Aristotle insists on the difference between a syllable and the letters of which it consists. See also H 2. Cf. W. D. Ross, *Aristotle* (3rd edition, London, 1937), pp. 172 f.

¹⁵ The evidence for the meaning of the word *ἐνθύμημα* before Aristotle is not very definite, but on the basis of Isocrates, *Paneg.* 9, *Contra soph.* 16, *Euag.* 10 one may form the impression that any rather elaborate (and elaborately expressed) thought could be called by that name (cf. Navarre, *op. cit.*, p. 255); and I see no reason why Isocrates should not regard e.g. the famous opening passage of the *Panegyricus* as an enthymeme. Quintilian, V, 10, 1 records different meanings of the word and mentions that *plures* favored a notion of *enthymema* which is certainly not Aristotle's. The third variety which he mentions seems to have something in common with the description of the enthymeme found in *ad Alex.* 11. "Demetrius," *περὶ ἑρμ.* 30-33 finds it necessary to emphasize the fact that an enthymeme is not the same thing as a sentence period. See also Quintilian, VIII, 5, 9.

¹⁶ The principal passages are *Rhet.* A 1, 1354 b 3-10; 2, 1356 a 35-b 25;

Moreover, such traditional types of "evidence" as *σημείον*, *εἰκός*, *τεκμήριον* which in all probability had never before received a logical foundation are by Aristotle reinterpreted as representing certain definite types of syllogisms.¹⁷ To be sure, some of them have to be regarded as somewhat lax and inconclusive, but the fact that matters is that in *Rhet. A 2* Aristotle looks at them from the perspective of his new theory of the logical syllogism as set forth in the *Analytica Priora*.

The *τόποι* had before Aristotle been ready-made arguments or commonplaces "into which they expected the speeches of both parties to fall most frequently."¹⁸ They referred invariably to particular subjects in the sense that the orator had his ready-made commonplaces for either enhancing or minimizing, say, the trustworthiness of the witnesses, the importance of the oaths to be sworn in court, etc. Aristotle compares this instruction to a procedure by which instead of learning the art of making shoes the apprentice receives a great number of ready-made shoes without any suggestion as to how to make them.¹⁹

He replaces this method by an altogether different system of *τόποι*, conceiving the *τόπος* as a "type" or "form" of argument of which you need grasp only the basic structural idea to apply it forthwith to discussions about any and every subject. Once you have grasped the *τόπος* of the "More and Less" you will be able to argue: If not even the gods know everything, human beings will certainly not know everything; or, Whoever beats his father will certainly also beat his neighbors; or to form any other argument of the same kind, always proceeding from the

1357 b 26-36; 1358 a 1-35; B 20, 1393 a 24-27. See also *Anal. Pr. B 23 f*. The necessity of basing rhetoric on dialectic had been emphasized by Plato (*Phaedrus* 265) but Plato did not think of dialectic in terms of syllogisms.

¹⁷ The Attic orators make ample use of *εἰκότα*, *σημεῖα*, *τεκμήρια* (see Antiphon, V, 25, 28, 37, 38, 43, 61, 63 and compare the *indices* for the other orators; see also Thucydides, I, 1, 3; 2, 6; 3, 3; and *passim*). I should hesitate to believe that all of them would agree with the definitions given in *ad Alex.* 8, 10, 13. For Aristotle's syllogistic construction of these forms see A 2, 1357 a 22-b 25 and *Anal. Pr. B 27*.

¹⁸ See Aristotle, *Soph. El.* 34, 183 b 36-184 a 1; Cicero, *Brut.* 46 f. Cf. Navarre, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-132; Volkmann, *op. cit.*, p. 159, and my *Antiphonstudien* (Berlin, 1931), p. 39, n. 2; pp. 47, 65.

¹⁹ *Soph. El.* 34, 183 b 36-184 a 8.

less likely thing (which has nevertheless occurred) to the more likely.²⁰ What matters in this system is the "form" of the argument, this being perfectly independent of any particular subject-matter or content. Aristotle in II, 2 enumerates twenty-eight *τόποι* or "forms" of arguments and in addition nine of paralogsms.²¹ Here too we find him constructing the rhetorical argument after the model of his logic, this time that of his *Topics* where he provides *τόποι* (of the same kind) for purely logical discussions. Obviously this new Aristotelian concept of the *τόπος* presupposes a new capacity for abstracting from the material content and for grasping the *καθόλου* or *ἐν ἐπὶ πολλῶν*. This is an ability which the previous teachers of rhetoric had lacked; in fact I venture the suggestion that before Plato and Aristotle the Greeks had generally lacked this capacity for abstracting. Whether or not Aristotle's *τόποι* are more practical than the ready-made clichés of Antiphon, Protagoras, and others is a question which we need not discuss, for, although Aristotle would probably claim superiority for his method in the field of practical application also, yet his primary objective is to elevate rhetoric to a subject of philosophical dignity and standing.

In other chapters Aristotle provides premises for the rhetorical syllogisms.²² These premises appear in the form of general propositions about the "good" ("a thing which everybody seeks to attain is good"), the "useful," the "beautiful," the "just," the "possible," and their opposites. We have to reckon with the possibility that at Aristotle's time other teachers of rhetoric had also adopted the course of providing their pupils with general propositions as to what was "good," "just," and, more particularly, of enumerating good, just, desirable things.²³ This may

²⁰ See the *τόπος τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον* in *Rhet.* B 23 (1397 b).

²¹ Cf. on Aristotle's *τόποι* Georgiana P. Palmer, *The τόποι of Aristotle's Rhetoric as exemplified in the Orators* (Diss., Chicago, 1934). I cannot fully agree with James H. McBurney's comments on the relation between the *τόποι* and the enthymeme (*Pap. Mich. Ac.*, XXI [1935], p. 493).

²² Cf. especially chapters like A 6 f., 9, B 19. A 10-19 may also with some justification be mentioned here. For the methodical idea behind the premises (and behind the *τόποι*) see A 2, 1358 a 1-A 3, 1359 a 5. See for comment on this section of the *Rhetoric* my book (see *supra* n. 9), pp. 13-27.

²³ *Ad Alex.* 2-6. Aristotle too has some chapters in which he enumerates *τὰ ἀγαθὰ* or *τὰ καλὰ* (A 5; A 6, 1362 b 10-28; A 9, 1366 a 34-b 22)

be regarded as a step in the same direction, and yet an important difference lies in the fact that behind Aristotle's procedure there is a definite logical conception of the nature of the rhetorical argument. His general propositions are really intended to be major premises in a rhetorical syllogism.

3. We have already referred to the important position of the three *πίστεις* or means of persuasion in Aristotle's system. It was Aristotle who set up the argumentation, the playing upon the feelings, and the speaker's character as the three factors essential for the effectiveness of a speech. We know that both earlier and contemporary rhetoricians included some practical suggestions for the arousing of pity, indignation, good will, etc. in their treatment of the "parts of the speech," especially of proem and epilogue. Aristotle's innovation consists not only in his granting to *πάθη* and *ἥθη* a status on a par with the arguments and thereby elevating them to first-rate factors but also in his careful analysis of the nature of the various emotions and of the conditions under which they may be either aroused or allayed.²⁴ The chapters B 12-17 are certainly a very interesting essay on "social psychology," if this term may be used for a theory of the customary reactions of certain social groups or age-groups (the young, the old, the rich, the noble, etc.). It must be admitted, however, that we are completely in the dark as to the position of the *ἥθη* in the conventional rhetorical system before Aristotle.²⁵

4. Aristotle distinguishes between three different kinds of speeches, the political speech, the forensic speech, and the laudation. The first deals with the *ἀγαθόν*, the second with the *δίκαιον*, the third with the *καλόν*; in other words they are related to three cardinal values. He arrives at these *tria genera causarum* (as they are technically called) by a deductive reasoning which is Platonic in form and method.²⁶ Yet it is also possible to regard

and it might be argued that in these he is keeping closer to the procedure of the average, unphilosophical *τέχναι*.

²⁴ *Rhet.* A 2, 1356 a 1-33; B 1-18. See for a fuller discussion my paper in *C. P.*, XXXIII (1938), pp. 390-404.

²⁵ The most instructive passage is perhaps Aristotle, *Rhet.* A 2, 1356 a 10-13.

²⁶ *Rhet.* A 3, 1358 a 1-13; Aristotle proceeds along lines of a strictly dichotomous *διαίρεσις*; and, as this method is typical of Plato rather than of Aristotle, the division of the rhetorical *λόγοι* which we read here may well go back to the Academy (cf. Diog. Laert., 3, 93). The

the concentration on these three species as the logical result of the development of the rhetorical theory and practice in the course of the fourth century and to suggest that in spite of his deductive efforts the result was for Aristotle something like a foregone conclusion. In these circumstances we welcome the testimony of Quintilian who tells us that the adoption of this tripartite scheme by later theorists at large was due to Aristotle's influence.²⁷ It may have been his authority rather than his originality which determined developments in this phase of the rhetorical system.

5. In the field of style or diction Aristotle went a long way towards fixing the "virtues of style," i. e. the qualities which a good speech or, more generally, a good piece of prose ought to possess. He lays down three: clarity, ornateness, and appropriateness (the last being subdivided in accordance with the three *πίστεις*).²⁸ A considerable portion of his more specified propositions and suggestions is arranged under these categories, and there is also a chapter on *Ἑλληνισμός*,²⁹ the correct use of the Greek language; but the organization of the material under these headings is by no means complete, and it was left to Theophrastus to put the finishing touch to his master's work here and to reduce this whole part of rhetoric to a hard and fast system, along the following lines: ³⁰

peculiar quality of Aristotle's procedure ought to have been taken into account by D. A. G. Hinks in his important article on the *tria genera causarum* in *Class. Quart.*, XXX (1936), pp. 170-176 because it explains some of the things which puzzle him and puzzled ancient rhetoricians.

²⁷ See Quintilian, III, 4, 1. The division into three *γένη* and their sub-division into six *εἶδη* are also found in the so called *Divis. Aristoteleae* §§ 93 f. H. Mutschmann in his edition (p. xiii) remarks pertinently: *quae εἶδη Aristoteles a vulgari arte acceperat*. Professor Cherniss has drawn my attention to these passages.

²⁸ Cf. especially Γ 2, 1404 b 1-8. Γ 2 and 4 come definitely under *κόσμος*, 7 under *πρέπον*. Cf. Stroux, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-43. Stroux maintains that for Aristotle these virtues form a unity, but this is one of the few points in his book where one may not follow him.

²⁹ Γ 5.

³⁰ See Stroux, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-28.

"Virtues of style"

(ἀρεταὶ λέξεως)

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| (1) correct use
of the
language
(Ἑλληνισμός) | (2) clarity
(σαφήνεια) | (3) appropriate-
ness
(πρέπον) | (4) ornateness
(κόσμος)
(a) selection
of words
(ἐκλογή)
(b) composition
of words
(σύνθεσις)
(c) figures
(σχήματα) |
|---|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|

Further stylistic categories like ἀσπεῖον, ψυχρόν, ὄγκος find a treatment in Rhet. Γ,³¹ and although Aristotle may not have been the first to use them he is likely to have been original in constituting their main types and organizing the material which comes under them. Yet we are not in a position to define the degree of his originality here; and, as we lack material for a comparison, any attempt to detect new departures in his theory of the metaphor³² or other phases of the rhetorical ornament would necessarily lead to guesswork. In a few points his dependence on the Isocratean tradition or, more particularly, the Theodectean τέχνη appears obvious.³³

It may be well to add a few other points even though they are slightly less important. In A 2 (1355 b 35) and A 15 (1375 a 22) Aristotle differentiates between those "proofs" which the orator has to provide by himself and those which do not depend on him but may be "used" by him to his best advantage. The former are those which we have already discussed, namely the argumentation, the speaker's character, the arousing of emotions (pp. 38, 42, *supra*); the other class consists of the witnesses, oaths sworn by the parties before the jury, the laws which are relevant to the case in hand, documents such as contracts, etc.³⁴ It is

³¹ Γ 3, 6, 10.³² Γ 2, 1405 a 3 ff.

³³ A definite reference to this work is found in Γ 9, 1410 b 3, but it is hard to believe that Aristotle should not have drawn on it also for his discussion of the sentence period in general, rhythm, and related subjects. Cf. p. 46 *infra*.

³⁴ A 15. In some of the earliest extant Attic orations the argumentation consists entirely in an elaborate twisting of the available ἀρεχνοὶ πίστεως. See my *Antiphonstudien* (Berlin, 1931).

obvious that the orator cannot "invent" this material; he can at best "use" or, to put it less euphemistically, twist it according to his purpose, and Aristotle in fact tells him how to do this. He refers to these "proofs" as *ἄτεχνοι πίστεις*, contrasting them with the other kind of proofs which he calls *ἐντεχνοι πίστεις*. It should be noted that the author of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* draws a similar distinction although he does not use the same terms.³⁵

The definition of the sentence period as a "sentence which has beginning and end in itself" and a certain definite extension in all probability originated with Aristotle.³⁶ His point is that what he calls "beginning and end in itself" should be secured through the rhythm. Also his famous distinction between *λέξις εἰρομένη* and *λέξις κατεστραμμένη* rests on the fact that the former lacks this quality of having beginning and end definitely marked. On the other hand it is not essential for Aristotle's conception of the period that it should consist of several *κῶλα*.

Among the new items which the Peripatetics after Aristotle added to the stock of his system two should certainly be mentioned. The Peripatetic theory of the rhetorical joke or the "laughable" (*τὰ γελοῖα*) has been reconstructed, mainly with the help of the so called *Tractatus Coislinianus*, "Demetrius," *περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, and Cicero's *De oratore*.³⁷ Two main sources of the "laughable" appear to have been distinguished; the theory is that it may lie either in the subject matter or in the verbal expression.

Theophrastus was the first to theorize on *ὑπόκρισις*, the oratorical delivery. Aristotle had suggested³⁸ that in working out this part of the system particular attention should be paid to the voice and its modulation, but Theophrastus may have gone further and may have included *gestus* and the expression of the

³⁵ Chap. 8 *init.*

³⁶ See Γ 9 *passim*, especially 1409 a 35 f. Cf. also Γ 8. Much light has been shed on these theories and some mistaken interpretations have been refuted by Josef Zehetmeier in his valuable dissertation on *Die Periodenlehre des Aristoteles* (München, 1930, printed also in *Philologus*, LXXXV [1930], pp. 192-208, 255-284, 414-436).

³⁷ Cf. E. Arndt, *De ridiculi doct. rhet.* (Diss., Bonn, 1904) and Mary A. Grant, *The Ancient Theories of the Laughable* (Madison, 1924). See also Kroll, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik," 38 f. Cf. *infra*.

³⁸ Γ 1, 1403 b 26-31.

orator's face (though we cannot say this with certainty since we do not know how closely later authors, especially Cicero, followed him).³⁹

I should hesitate to credit Aristotle with any of the notions or precepts of the second part of book Γ (chaps. 13-19), since there are good reasons for assuming that Aristotle in that section is reproducing a system of the alternative "Isocratean" type. I have suggested elsewhere⁴⁰ that the τέχνη from which he borrows was that of his friend Theodectes. To be sure, Aristotle does not reproduce his source mechanically and there are passages in which he evidently expresses disagreement with the author from whom he derived most of his material.⁴¹ Nevertheless, chaps. 13-19 represent a system of the μόρια λόγου type and, so far from being characteristic of Aristotle's own approach to rhetoric, may rather be regarded as the first stage in the process of fusion between the two rival traditions.

On the basis of the foregoing analysis it should now be possible to form an opinion about the way in which the *ratio Aristotelica* has left its mark upon the later rhetorical systems.

1 (corresponding to section 1, page 37 *supra*). In a paper published in *Hermes*⁴² Professor Barwick pointed out that the extant *artes* of the Hellenistic and Imperial era fall into two groups according to the way in which their authors divide and arrange their material. Although we have to reckon with a considerable amount of mutual borrowing, mixing, and combining between the two types, the basic forms emerge with certainty. The one type consists of a discussion of proem, narration, proofs, epilogue, and usually one or several more "parts" of the speech,⁴³ whereas the other type is usually a quinquartite system including *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *actio*, and *memoria*. It is not difficult to recognize in the former type a continuation of

³⁹ Kroll (*R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik," 36 f.) is probably right in assuming that Cicero's discussion of the *actio* (*De orat.*, III, 213-225; *Orat.* 55-60) is a reliable basis for the reconstruction of Theophrastus' theory. See also Stroux, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 f.

⁴⁰ *Hermes*, LXVII (1932), pp. 144-151. Cf. also Barwick, *Hermes*, LVII (1922), pp. 1 ff., 12.

⁴¹ See especially Γ 14, 1415 a 24; Γ 16, 1416 b 30.

⁴² *Hermes*, LVII (1922), pp. 1-11.

⁴³ This type is represented by Julius Severianus, Apsines, Rufus, and the Anonymus Seguerianus.

the system which had been in vogue before Plato and Aristotle and which as we know was severely criticized by both of them. The other is described by Quintilian as that of the *plurimi maxime auctores*,⁴⁴ and I think that we have every right to consider these *plurimi maxime auctores* as following in the footsteps of Aristotle. The first three sections certainly correspond to his three: Proofs, Style, Disposition, *εὔρεσις* (*inventio*) being merely a new name for that part of the system in which, as in Aristotle's *πίστεις*, the material content of the speech is discussed.⁴⁵ The fourth part, *ὑπόκρισις* or *actio*, had, as we have seen (p. 39, *supra*), been postulated by Aristotle as a necessary supplement to his tripartite division. It was supplied in accordance with the master's suggestion by his faithful pupil Theophrastus.⁴⁶ The problem which remains and which cannot be solved with certainty is this: Who was the first rhetorician to add *memoria* (*μνήμη*) to the Peripatetic system? All that we may say is that this addition must have been made between Theophrastus and those authors from whom Cicero and the *Auctor ad Herennium* borrow the structure of their *artes*, since when they wrote this quinepartite scheme must have been firmly established.⁴⁷ Yet, although the inclusion of *memoria* (*μνήμη*) had as far as we know never been contemplated by Aristotle or Theophrastus, the fact remains that the *plurimi maxime auctores* have their place in the Peripatetic tradition.

⁴⁴ Quintilian, III, 3, 1. Cf. Cicero, *De invent.*, I, 9: *partes . . . quas plerique dixerunt*. Quintilian (*loc. cit.*) refers to attempts made by some rhetoricians to add *iudicium* to these five sections and mentions a number of writers who in some way or other diverged from the orthodox quinepartite scheme. According to Diog. Laert., VII, 1, 43, the Stoics had *εὔρεσις*, *φράσις*, *τάξις*, *ὑπόκρισις* (see Striller, *De Stoicorum studiis rhet.* [Breslau, 1887], p. 35). I should gather from Diog., *loc. cit.* and Cicero, *De orat.*, I, 142 that the Stoics and other Hellenistic teachers tried to do justice to both traditions. In the end, a combination was brought about (see *infra*, pp. 48-50).

⁴⁵ See for *πράγματα* Γ 1, 1403 b 19, for *εὔρεσις* A 2, 1355 b 39 (cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 263 a). I cannot agree with Barwick's reconstruction of the history of this type of rhetorical system (*loc. cit.*, pp. 39-41) and think that Kroll's discussion (*R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik," 58 f.) is more in keeping with the evidence at our disposal.

⁴⁶ Cf. Diog. Laert., V, 2, 48 and Stroux, *op. cit.*, p. 70. The Stoics evidently (see n. 44) adopted Theophrastus' system.

⁴⁷ For the place of *μνήμη* in the rhetorical system see Kroll, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik," 58 f.

Cicero's *De inventione* was meant to cover the first part of this quinquupartite scheme, explicit references to which it contains.⁴⁸ Thirty years later Cicero adopted the same division of the rhetorical system for *De oratore*, dealing in book II with *inventio*, *dispositio*, *memoria*, in book III with *elocutio* and *actio*.⁴⁹ Quintilian's *Institutio* is also based on the Peripatetic scheme; here the *inventio* is treated in III, 4-VI, *dispositio* in VII,⁵⁰ *elocutio* in VIII-XI, 1, *memoria* in XI, 2, *pronuntiatio* (which *a plerisque actio dicitur*) in XI, 3. Fortunatianus, Julius Victor, Martianus Capella, and, on the Greek side, Longinus are the other extant authors whose *artes* show the same structure.⁵¹

We must add at once, however, that scarcely any *ars* presents the Peripatetic system in its true and uncontaminated form. Compromises with the alternative system are a regular and normal feature. Cicero in his *De inventione* and the *Auctor ad Herennium* in his (closely corresponding) section on *inventio* so far from reproducing an Aristotelian or Peripatetic theory of the *πίστεις* actually deal with the "parts of the speech": *prooemium*, *narratio*, *partitio*, *confirmatio*, *refutatio*, *epilogus*.⁵² This at least is true in the discussion of the forensic branch (*genus iuridiciale*) which receives far more attention and much fuller treatment than either of the other branches (see p. 42 *supra*). In the description of these others (which is rather sketchy) the "parts" have not been adopted as a basis,⁵³ and we are entitled to conclude that the *inventio* of these two *genera causarum* (the laudation and the political oration) has suffered

⁴⁸ See especially I, 9. The *Auctor ad Herennium* has all five sections.

⁴⁹ The *inventio* is discussed in II, 104-306, 333-349; *dispositio* in II, 307-332; *memoria* in II, 350-360; *elocutio* in III, 37-212; *actio* in III, 213-225.

⁵⁰ To be sure, there is a great deal of material in VII that we should hardly expect to find under *dispositio*, but we have to infer from the first and last sentences of the book that for Quintilian himself the book deals with *dispositio*. (Radermacher's recent explanation [*Gnomon*, 1939, p. 100] is not fully convincing.)

⁵¹ See for an analysis of these authors (and for references to Cicero's *Orator*) Barwick, *loc. cit.*, p. 2.

⁵² Cicero goes even a step further. He starts by giving a theory of the *status* (I, 10) for which Hermagoras had set the fashion.

⁵³ *De invent.*, II, 157 (see, however, 155, 177). Cf. *Auctor ad Herennium*, III, 2, 10.

less interference from an alternative system, whether "Isocratean" or Hermagorean. The different fate of these branches is, however, certainly not due to a greater respect for them in their true Peripatetic form but rather to a neglect of them and to a general concentration of interest on the *genus iuridiciale*. Quintilian also organizes his material for the *inventio* of the forensic speech under headings representing the *partes* (*exordium, narratio, egressio, propositio, partitio* in IV; *probatio* including *refutatio* in V; *peroratio* in VI, 1) but refrains from following the same method in his discussion of the two other branches, which is, again, much shorter.⁵⁴ A further instance of εὑρεσις (*inventio*) based on the parts of the speech is to be found in Longinus' τέχνη.⁵⁵

Wherever the *inventio* consists of a discussion of the *partes* the material available for the "proofs" would naturally find its place under *probatio* (or *confirmatio*, which is only another name for the same part). As a result this "part" by far exceeds the others in bulk. Theoretically this material might still be good Aristotelian or Peripatetic theory; to what extent it actually is we shall have to discuss under 2. It is clear, however, that the use of the "parts of the speech" as the principle of structure and organization in the section on *inventio* constitutes an important departure from the original Peripatetic system; in fact we have to regard it as a "contamination" with the alternative, Isocratean tradition.⁵⁶ The only major work that shows no signs of this contamination is Cicero's *De oratore*.⁵⁷ The fusion of the two systems must have taken place some time prior to Cicero's *De inventione* and the *Auctor ad Herennium*, and it is not difficult to imagine that practical reasons determined influential teachers of rhetoric to blend the two rival systems in the manner which we have discussed. Cicero's *unum quoddam genus est conflatum a posterioribus* is certainly borne out.

We remember that Aristotle himself had borrowed from the alternative system and discussed the "parts of the speech"

⁵⁴ III, 7, 8.~

⁵⁵ This may be gathered from *Rhet. Graec.* (ed. Spengel-Hammer), II, 182, 20; 208, 5.

⁵⁶ For the "Isocratean" system see *supra* p. 37.

⁵⁷ Cicero does, however, in *De oratore* make a concession to the Hermagorean doctrine of the *status*, the basic idea of which is embodied in II, 104. In *Part. orat.* the *status* bulk even larger.

under *τάξις*, that is to say in the section on *dispositio*. The later rhetoricians who use the "parts" in the *inventio* cannot, of course, discuss them again in the *dispositio*. Thus they must in the *dispositio* confine themselves to some remarks concerning the length of each of these parts, the sequence of the points to be made, and other subjects of minor importance.⁵⁸ With them, therefore, the *dispositio* tends to assume the form of *Addenda* to the *inventio*, and this may be the reason (or perhaps one of several reasons, as we cannot trace this development with certainty) why the rhetoricians preferred to deal with *dispositio* immediately after *inventio* instead of discussing *elocutio* between them—which would have been in keeping with the original Peripatetic order.

Martianus Capella obviously knew both traditions and was anxious to give each of them its due; in his book on rhetoric (V) he first presents us with a discussion on the lines of the quinquartite system, refraining from any reference to the *partes* in the *inventio* (although he makes extensive use of the *status*) and treating the *dispositio* very briefly (30), yet after finishing this he adds a full treatment of the alternative system beginning with the proem and ending with the epilogue (44-53). This is a unique procedure, and it is interesting to see that in the "Aristotelian" part of the book he preserves some elements of that tradition which the majority of rhetorical theorists no longer know.⁵⁹ Another curious fact is that he deals with argumentation in both parts of the book but treats it differently.

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(To be continued.)

⁵⁸ Cicero's treatment of *dispositio* in *De orat.*, II, 307-332 is again an exception since he has not anticipated the discussion of the *partes* under *inventio*. To deal with them under *dispositio* as he does was in keeping with the original Peripatetic procedure (i. e. with his *ratio Aristotelica*, see my remarks at the end of this article).

⁵⁹ I am referring to his inclusion of *ἦθος* and *πάθος*.

THE TERENCEANUS OF THE ΠΕΡΙ ΥΨΟΥΣ.

Discussion of the essay *De Sublimitate* has been at a serious disadvantage because its author is unknown, its date conjectural, and the man to whom it is addressed quite unidentifiable. Much valiant effort has been expended in the attempt to bring this triple problem nearer to solution, but there is still need of further work. It is my purpose here to try to look at the treatise from a Roman point of view, and, upon such a basis, to reëxamine the internal evidence.

The question of date has been studied elaborately, and there seems to be no reason to doubt the general conclusion as to its being the middle of the first century of our era—Roberts would go so far as to specify *circa* A. D. 40.¹ We have at present no cause whatsoever to hope that we shall ever know who this "Longinus" was to whom manuscripts credit the authorship; certainly it was not the famous tutor of Zenobia.² With these two lines of investigation excluded, there remain to us two others: a) the man addressed and b) the place in the literature of the first century into which such a treatise would fit. These two lines are imperfectly divisible, but we shall study them separately so far as possible.

The man addressed, who is otherwise unknown and who has even been regarded as possibly the invention of the author of the work,³ is generally called Postumius Terentianus. He is called Terentianus several times in the course of the treatise, and

¹ W. Rhys Roberts, "Longinus on the Sublime. Some Historical and Literary Problems," *Phil. Quart.*, VII (1928), pp. 209-219. He discusses the date on p. 210. The most recent article is by G. C. Richards, "The Authorship of the Περὶ Ὑψους," *Class. Quart.*, XXXII (1938), pp. 133-134. Richards, solely on the basis of somewhat vague and inconclusive resemblances in thought, tries to maintain that the author is the Pompeius to whom Dionysius of Halicarnassus addressed a letter. It would be eminently satisfactory if Richards could prove that a member of Dionysius' circle was the author, but his evidence is strong enough only for a suggestion, not for proof. He suggests as the date of composition the latter years of Augustus' reign, but it is almost foolhardy to be more specific than "sometime in the first century."

² As a matter of convenience, however, we shall throughout refer to the unknown author of the περὶ ὕψους as "Longinus."

³ W. Rhys Roberts, *Longinus on the Sublime*² (Cambridge University Press, 1907), p. 22.

we are consequently sure of that part of his name,⁴ but he is once addressed at greater length at a point where some early copyist caused confusion,⁵ with the resultant reading Ποστούμει Φλωρεντιανέ. We do not know which name was *nomen* and which *cognomen*, and it is worth noting that Christ-Schmid-Stählin in their handbook (II [1920], p. 476) call him Terentianus Postumius, no doubt feeling that here we have another example of the custom found in the Empire of reversing the positions of the names. This was, of course, usual in Cicero's day when the *praenomen* was omitted.⁶ The omission of the *praenomen* may be some indication of intimacy.⁷ It is seemingly improbable that we shall ever be able to identify him with any historical figure, although the internal evidence of the essay can lead us to some very reasonable suppositions as to what sort of person he was.

We assume for the moment a fact which will be demonstrated presently, that the treatise was written at Rome.⁸ Roberts does not go much farther in determining the actual relationship between Longinus and Terentianus than to say, somewhat diffidently, that "Longinus addresses his essay to a Roman friend of high rank."⁹ We can, however, be much more exact than that. In the first place, the author addresses Terentianus in such a way that it is obvious that he is himself a teacher of some sort, or at least a professional literary man, and that Terentianus is a student of his. We must be careful, moreover, not to think of a modern student-teacher arrangement; the Romans continued these studies to a more mature age than we do, and the teacher of a nobleman or man of rank lacked the established respect a modern

⁴ I, 4; IV, 3; XII, 4; XXIX, 2; XLIV, 1.

⁵ I, 1.

⁶ Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, II, 8, 3, with the note given in the edition of Tyrrell and Purser.

⁷ Tyrrell and Purser's third edition of Cicero's letters, vol. I, pp. 56 f.

⁸ Naturally we cannot insist here upon the actual city of Rome. We shall have to be content with meaning conditions which were specifically Roman. It would be possible, for instance, that the treatise was written for the benefit of that group of philosophically minded Romans who kept villas by the Bay of Naples. Without actual evidence we cannot distinguish between literature written at Rome and literature written at Naples. Hence by "Rome" we shall throughout this article understand "conditions typical of Rome."

⁹ W. Rhys Roberts, "ΒΑΘΟΣ and ΤΥΟΣ," *Class. Rev.*, XLIII (1929), p. 59.

professor regards as his due.¹⁰ Not so obvious as the student-professor relationship is the fact that the use of φίλος and φίλτατε would indicate that Terentianus was the patron and Longinus the client, since φίλος seems to be, in the Greek of the Roman period, the common form of address to denote this arrangement, just as *amicus* does in Latin.¹¹ The fact that the adjective is used in the superlative more often than in the simple form is definitely the Latin touch.

The suggestion of a patron-client association in the Roman style is further substantiated by the over-respectful tone of the treatise: the author even goes so far as to apologize for having opinions in the presence of the great Roman.¹² When we consider the other modes of address used by Longinus, our supposition as to their relative social positions is confirmed. In XII, 4 we are informed that the author is a Greek. If he lived in Rome, his social position would have been quite low, since Greeks did not count for much socially in that city. On the other hand, the

¹⁰ Cicero, *De Off.*, I, 42, 151 says that *medicina, architectura, and doctrina rerum honestarum* are suitable for those *quorum ordini conveniunt*. Cf. Juvenal, VII, 150-243 on the poverty of *rhetores* and *grammatici*, and the shabby way they were generally treated.

¹¹ Walter Allen, Jr., "On the Friendship of Lucretius with Memmius," *Class. Phil.*, XXXIII (1938), pp. 167-181; Walter Allen, Jr. and Phillip H. DeLacy, "The Patrons of Philodemus," *Class. Phil.*, XXXIV (1939), pp. 59-65. (The latter article describes the treatment accorded by noble Romans of the Ciceronian period to Greek philosophers and literary men in general.) These papers adequately discuss the origins, meaning, and terminology of literary patronage in the Roman Republic. The only fact which need be noted here is that the adjectives *amicus* and φίλος are applied by either party to the other party to the arrangement.

¹² I, 3 γράφων δὲ πρὸς σέ, φίλτατε, τὸν παιδείας ἐπιστήμονα

I, 4 ταῦτα γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια, Τερεντιανὲ ἤδιστε, κὰν αὐτὸς ἐκ πείρας ὑφηγήσαιο

XII, 4 φίλτατε Τερεντιανέ, (λέγω δέ, <εἰ> καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς Ἑλλήσιν ἐφεῖται τι γινώσκειν) καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐν τοῖς μεγέθεσι παραλλάττει

XII, 5 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑμεῖς ἂν ἄμεινον ἐπικρίνοιτε

XIII, 1 ἀνεγνώσκως τὰ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ τὸν τύπον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς

XXIII, 1 ὡς οἶσθα

XXXIX, 2 ὡς ἐπίστασαι

At this point we may also observe the tone with which Terentianus requested Longinus to undertake his study: I, 2 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνεκελεύσω καὶ ἡμᾶς τι περὶ ὕψους πάντως εἰς σὴν ὑπομνηματίσασθαι χάριν, κτλ.

addressing of Terentianus as *κράτιστε*¹³ would perhaps show that he was of senatorial rank,¹⁴ although the significance of the word was not precise in the first century. This title refers in an official manner to a senator for the first time in the reign of Hadrian; so, if the treatise was written in the first century of our era, it may have been toward the end of that century. But we also find it used of the equestrian prefects of Egypt from the time of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius; and in the first century it is even used of such procurators of Judaea as the low-born Felix.¹⁵ Although the term referred to senators alone at the beginning of the second century, it was soon afterwards also used generally of equestrians.¹⁶ While we lack concrete evidence on the point, it would be difficult to believe and it would be contrary to the general practice of the period that Longinus should have written in the provinces or that he should be addressing a man of equestrian rank, since those officials who would normally seek advancement in the equestrian *cursus* would hardly be inclined to an extensive study of oratory; but, if such were the case, we ought then to be able to identify a man of such official prominence as these equestrians would be. We must admit that the use of *κράτιστε* is unusual in the first century. It is probable that Longinus learned it somewhere in the East and brought it with him to Rome, where he proceeded to employ it in its provincial

¹³ XXXIX, 1.

¹⁴ David Magie, *De Romanorum Iuris Publici Sacrique Vocabutis Sollemnibus in Graecum Sermonem Conversis* (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 31, 51 f.

¹⁵ O. W. Reinmuth, "The Prefect of Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian," *Klio*, Beiheft 34 (1935), pp. 9 f.; Otto Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden* (Giessen, 1930), pp. 20-21, especially n. 2 on p. 20 where he cites *Acts of the Apostles* 23, 26; 24, 3; 26, 25. Cf. also *Ev. Luc.* I, 3, and the commentary on that passage given by F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* (London, 1922), Part I, Vol. II, pp. 505-507. They point out that the word is used in other dedicatory addresses, as Dionys. Hal., *De adm. vi dic.*, *sub fin.*, ὁ κράτιστε Ἀμμαίε; Josephus, *Contra Apion.* I, 1 and *Vita*, c. 76, *sub fin.*, κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν Ἐπαφρόδιτε; Hermogenes, *De inventione*, III, 1 (Walz, *Rhet. Graeci*, III, 98) ὁ κράτιστε Ἰούλιε Μάρκε, et al. Jackson and Lake conclude, on the basis of this and some further evidence, that such an address seems to possess an official tone, but that certainty is impossible.

¹⁶ L. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*¹⁰ (Leipzig, 1921), IV, pp. 79 f., especially n. 2 on p. 79.

meaning as a term of elaborate respect. There may be some importance in the fact that it is used only once and that it stands out as unusual against his other more commonplace forms of address. We cannot insist that it refers to a man of senatorial rank, but can only say that the evidence seems to point in that direction. The term no doubt would be honorific before it became official, as is the case with other similar terms. We apparently have here, then, an early occurrence of the honorific sense and we are forced to suppose that it has the same meaning as it had later in a semi-official sense. It is unfortunate that *κράτιστε* never became a completely exact title.

The word *νεανία*¹⁷ may mean almost any age between twenty and thirty, perhaps even extending as far as forty,¹⁸ since it is not exactly equivalent to *iuvenis*. But this man could still be of senatorial rank although he had held no office, because at this time the rank was inherited.¹⁹

Longinus' employment of *ἡδιστε*²⁰ is interesting since it shows that he had Latin terminology in mind. The word *ἡδύς* is a gloss for *dulcis*, which itself is frequently used with *amicitia*, *amor*, etc.²¹ As the lexicons show, *ἡδιστε* was used to refer to a friend before this time, but here it is used twice in what appears to be a more standardized meaning; and the presence of other technical terms of patronage shows what course our thinking should take.

The ways in which Longinus addressed Terentianus, and they are quite numerous and remarkably uniform, may be listed summarily as follows: (VI) ὦ φίλος; (I, 3; VII, 1; XIII, 2; XVII, 1) φίλτατε; (I, 1) Ποστούμω Τερεντιανὲ φίλτατε; (XII, 4) φίλτατε Τερεντιανέ; (XXIX, 2; XLIV, 1) Τερεντιανὲ φίλτατε; (I,

¹⁷ XV, 1.

¹⁸ Lorenz Grasberger, *Erziehung und Unterricht im Klassischen Altertum* (Würzburg, 1864-1881), II, p. 240, n. 5; III, p. 6.

¹⁹ Cf. *R.-E.*, s. v. "senatus" (O'Brien-Moore), Supplementband VI, 761.

²⁰ I, 4; IV, 3.

²¹ *ἡδύς* is a gloss for *dulcis* according to *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s. v. "dulcis." Cf. *Thesaurus*, V, 2192, 2194, 2195, for use of *dulcis* with *amicitia*, etc. It reminds one of the *suavis amicitia* of Lucretius and Memmius which I have discussed in a previous article. Cicero uses *suavis* frequently in his letters, particularly in those to his family, and his use of the word seems to be more frequent in the later letters than in the earlier. Good examples are found in Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, II, 13, 2; XIV, 5, 1; XVI, 5, 1; *Ad Att.*, VII, 18, 1.

4; IV, 3) Τερεντιανὲ ἡδιστε; (XXVI, 2) ὦ ἐταῖρε; (I, 2; IX, 6; IX, 10) ἐταῖρε;²² (XV, 1) ὦ νεανία; (XXXIX, 1) κράτιστε.

We can assert, almost with certainty, that the treatise was written in Rome. It is addressed to a Roman of rank, as such words as *κράτιστε* indicate. The entire tone looks to Roman life and politics, conditions which could not be duplicated elsewhere in the Empire. It is also noteworthy that it is a reply to a treatise written in Rome.

The fact that the author had some knowledge of Latin is important, a fact which is implied in his comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero,²³ and in the Latinisms which authorities claim to have discovered in his Greek.²⁴ There are few exceptions to the rule that no Greek knew Latin unless he had lived in Rome or had had some very intimate contact with Romans and Italians.²⁵ The general practice was that the Romans used Greek in their dealings with Greeks outside Rome (and sometimes in Rome), and that the Greeks clung to their language with all their ancient disdain for foreign tongues. The Eastern provincials who learned Latin did so only for military or official reasons, and they admittedly had no feeling for literary Latin.

²² It is well to observe that *ἐταῖρος* is the equivalent of *φίλος*. Cf. J. P. A. Eernstman, *ΟΙΚΕΙΟΣ, ΕΤΑΙΡΟΣ, ΕΠΙΘΗΔΕΙΟΣ, ΦΙΛΟΣ* (Groningen, Den Haag, 1932), pp. 96 ff., p. 134. There was in earlier times, of course, a difference in meaning which had by the Hellenistic period largely disappeared. It is also notable that, under conditions very similar to those we are now considering, both *ἐταῖρος* and *φίλος* are translated by the Latin *amicus*: Paulus Spitta, *De Amicorum, Qui Vocantur, in Macedonum Regno Condicione* (Berlin, 1875), p. 10, n. 9.

²³ XII.

²⁴ Roberts' edition, pp. 11-14, p. 188; H. J. Edmiston, "An Unnoticed Latinism in Longinus," *Class. Rev.*, XIV (1900), p. 224. Cf. Robinson Ellis, "The Literary Relations of 'Longinus' and Manilius," *Class. Rev.*, XIII (1899), p. 294.

²⁵ W. Rhys Roberts, "Caecilius of Calacte," *A. J. P.*, XVIII (1897), cf. pp. 310-311, p. 311, n. 1. Roberts refers to the very useful article of Émile Egger, "De l'étude de la langue latine chez les Grecs dans l'antiquité," in *Mémoires d'Histoire Ancienne et de Philologie* (Paris, 1863), pp. 259-276. Cf. also P. S. Costas, *An Outline of the History of the Greek Language with Particular Emphasis on the Koine and the Subsequent Stages* (University of Chicago, 1936; Reprint of *Bibliotheca Eurasiatica Americana*, Series Hist.-Phil. vol. VI, Academia Scientiarum Ucrainica Americana, Chicago, Illinois), p. 77, n. 1, where there is a full statement of the extent of the penetration of Latin into the East, with an ample bibliography on the subject.

Even learned Greeks who lived in Rome were inclined to make no pretensions to understanding Latin style. When Caecilius wrote a comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero, he was berated for his folly by Plutarch, who studiously avoided falling into such error.²⁶ Longinus may very well have been inspired by Caecilius' effort to make his comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero,²⁷ but his statements are carefully qualified. It is quite possible, however, that Longinus never read Cicero's writings at all, or perhaps he read only a very small portion of them. There was an endless dispute over Cicero's standing as an orator; it would be easy at that time to discover sentiments of this sort and, encompassing them in well-turned phrases, to utter them as one's own. In this connection one can again with profit examine Quintilian's familiar comparison of the two orators (*Inst. Orat.* X, 1, 106).

Nevertheless it seems possible to explain Longinus' Latinisms only by his residence in Rome. Even with such circumstances it is difficult to comprehend a man who spoke Greek as a native language and yet permitted Latinisms to creep into his writings. Such a situation would be more probable in the case of a man who had learned both Greek and Latin as foreign tongues. Such a supposition might also be of assistance in accounting for the unusual word *κράτιστε*. It may be the translation into Greek of a term used in some Eastern language to honor the Roman governors, who were frequently treated with all the respect formerly accorded to the native semi-divine kings.

The author tells us distinctly that he is a Greek.²⁸ In the first century of the Christian era that simple fact of nationality would have some significance. The general term of "Greek," however, could very well cover a multitude of nationalities and

²⁶ Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, II f.; A. Gudeman, "A New Source in Plutarch's Life of Cicero," *T. A. P. A.*, XX (1889), especially pp. 142-145. It can be proved in some instances that Plutarch did not use original Latin sources even where he refers to them by name; his general habit seems to have been to use intermediary sources. Hence we cannot estimate his knowledge of Latin merely by what he says in the Lives of Cicero and Demosthenes.

²⁷ Roberts' article in *A. J. P.*, XVIII, p. 310. It is worth noting how many times Caecilius' name is mentioned in the course of the *περί ὑψους*: I, 1 (bis); IV, 2; VIII, 1; VIII, 4; XXXI, 1; XXXII, 1; XXXII, 8.

²⁸ XII, 4.

would permit a man to have his origins in Sicily or in practically any part of the Eastern Mediterranean. It was likely to mean little more than that he spoke Greek as his preferred tongue. We may point out that Longinus is writing his treatise in answer to an essay of Caecilius of Calacte, a *libertinus* who was born in Sicily and lived in Rome, but was Jewish in faith.²⁹ Theodorus of Gadara, who preferred to be called a Rhodian, is of dubious nationality, and Roberts suggests that he was Jewish or Syrian.³⁰ Theodorus is referred to by Longinus in terms which imply some degree of intimacy on a plane of equality, and it has been suggested that perhaps Longinus had heard him lecture or studied under him.³¹ In this matter we can lay no emphasis on the fact that Longinus refers to Hebrew literature,³² since those statements were apparently inspired by similar remarks in Caecilius' treatise.

We might do well to remember that other prominent Greek writers of the Augustan Age were Diodorus from Sicily, Strabo from Pontus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Certainly the evidence indicates that we have no right to regard Longinus, in such company, as a real Greek in nationality. Roberts mentions that Mommsen thought Longinus was possibly a Jew,³³ and, in an article of his own on Dionysius, he suggests, "Possibly, if our information were not so scanty, we might find that men like Caecilius and the other friends of Dionysius, like Theodorus of Gadara, like the author of the *περὶ ὕψους*, like the author of the *περὶ ἐρμηνείας*, and even like Manilius, had this in common that they belonged to the age of Augustus or the period immediately succeeding it, and further resembled each other (in some instances) in being freedmen or sons of freedmen attached to the great Roman houses such as that of Pompey, and in having an Eastern or Jewish origin." In Dionysius' works, moreover, we find much the same problems in regard to the status of the author and the terminology of formal address as we do in the *περὶ ὕψους*.

²⁹ Cf. Roberts' article on Caecilius in *A. J. P.*, XVIII, pp. 302 f.

³⁰ Roberts' article in *Phil. Quart.*, VII, p. 213.

³¹ *περὶ ὕψους* III, 5.

³² IX, 9. Cf. Roberts' edition, pp. 234 f.; also his article in *A. J. P.*, XVIII, pp. 310 f.

³³ Roberts' edition, p. 237; cf. W. Rhys Roberts, "The Literary Circle of Dionysius of Halicarnassus," *Class. Rev.*, XIV (1900), pp. 439-442. I quote from pp. 440 f. of this article.

Granting Longinus' residence in Rome, the question of social position becomes acute. The Greeks at the time of the Scipionic Circle enjoyed an enviable status, it is true, but a general reaction had set in by the time of Cicero³⁴ which continued through the next century. This reaction was perhaps inspired by the fact that Greek teachers were believed to be responsible for initiating the radical political thought which began with the Gracchi. There would be as exceptions to this rule some Greeks who were respected and well treated, but they would certainly never be treated as social equals, and the literary men in general would have in the first century after Christ much the same sort of existence as Philodemus and his contemporaries in the time of Cicero. We can definitely say that, in the centuries just before and after the birth of Christ, the Greeks were regarded merely as another group of provincials, and they were despised for some of their actions. "Thus we have the Romans at last repudiating, or forgetting, their ancient anxiety to pose as an offshoot of the Hellenes, and coming to regard the Greek as only a superior kind of outsider, worse than the Roman in moral principles, worse even in manners, owing to his fickleness, and also to his ungovernable excitability, which caused many extravagances painful to a calm and self-possessed aristocracy."³⁵ It was not until the time of Hadrian that philhellenism really took root in Rome again.³⁶

If Longinus was a Greek, then, his position in Rome would not be high; if he was a Greek-speaking Oriental, it would be even lower. There are notable exceptions, of course, of provincial literary men who rose to position, but they are almost all from the Western provinces and of a completely different social and political origin and status. In dealing with an unknown man, we must accept the general rule as true for him. Just how bad such a position could be is shown by the statements of Juvenal and Martial in regard to the patrons of literary men; and it is described in detail by Lucian's *Dependent Scholar*, in the opening of which he says that this *φιλία* might better be called *δουλεία*. The picture drawn by Lucian in his satire is very black, and he lists exactly the various indignities to which a man in such a

³⁴ J. P. Mahaffy, *The Silver Age of the Greek World* (Chicago, 1906), chapter VII.

³⁵ Mahaffy, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

³⁶ Mahaffy, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

position would be subjected. He is very clear on the points that the great Romans³⁷ are the patrons, and that the scenes portrayed are in Rome itself,³⁸ and that the dependent scholars are Greeks who are despised for their nationality.³⁹ He is also definite on the point that the Greek literary man is having difficulty with the Latin language.⁴⁰ His statements are extreme, no doubt, since they were composed for satirical purposes; but the element of truth is very apparent, because it is possible to write good satire of this sort only upon situations familiar to everyone.

One should also consider the nature of the treatise itself. It has been valued chiefly for its literary criticism, but that was not the main purpose for which Longinus wrote it. He meant it for a practical help in the study of rhetoric, and to assist the public men in their speeches.⁴¹ If we did not know the trend of rhetorical studies in the first century, we might believe that what began as a rhetorical treatise soon turned into pure and undiluted literary criticism.⁴² But such is not the case. Quintilian serves as clear evidence that Longinus intended his entire work as a rhetorical treatise.⁴³

³⁷ § 3 ἀρίστους Ῥωμαίων.

³⁹ §§ 17, 25, 40.

³⁸ §§ 17, 20, 25-26, 33-34.

⁴⁰ § 24.

⁴¹ I, 1; I, 2; XXXVI, 1. The regard for oratory as a useful and practical subject for study is, of course, a characteristic of Rome in the first century, although it had always been present in some degree. On this point cf. E. G. Sihler, "The Treatise *περὶ ὕψους*, a Rhetorical and Didactic Treatise," *P. A. P. A.*, XXX (1899), pp. xiii-xix, where Sihler emphasizes the intended practicality of the essay. The author wrote the treatise in the hope that he might remedy the low estate of oratory, and he is excessively careful to point out, in his approach to the subject he wishes to discuss, that he is actuated by a desire to be of real assistance to statesmen and public speakers (I, 1; I, 2 [ἀνδράσι πολιτικοῖς . . . χρήσιμον]; XXXVI, 1). The reason for the practicality of rhetoric in Rome is simply that it was the means to worldly advancement: cf. J. Wight Duff, "Roman Education," in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York, 1912), V, pp. 212 f.; Aubrey Gwynn, *Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian* (Oxford University Press, 1926), pp. 139-142; cf. also Tacitus, *Annals*, XI, 5-7, on the mercenary value of oratory.

⁴² Careful reading shows, however, that the discussion of orators occupies the lion's share of space in the essay, and that such words as *ῥήτωρ* crop up in all the important passages.

⁴³ Louis Vaucher in his *Études Critiques sur le Traité du Sublime et*

Poetry occupied a disproportionately large place in the education of the first century, especially at the stage when the student was under the care of the *grammaticus*. Consequently there is no cause for surprise that these poetical interests should be carried over into rhetorical studies. When Quintilian is laying down his rules for the course of reading necessary to give the final touches to an oratorical style, he speaks thus about poetry: "Plurimum dicit oratori conferre Theophrastus lectionem poetarum, multique eius iudicium sequuntur; neque immerito. Namque ab his in rebus spiritus et in verbis sublimitas et in affectibus motus omnis et in personis decor petitur, praecipueque velut attrita cotidiano actu forensi ingenia optime rerum talium blanditia reparantur."⁴⁴ Then he goes on to warn the orator of the dangers of incorporating the technique of poetry into speeches. But his statement is close to Longinus' dictum that "sublimity is the echo of a great soul," as Roberts has translated it, and we can see that here we have two rhetorical minds at work along the same lines. Quintilian repeatedly points out how useful rhetoricians will find the *sublimitas* and the "high style" of the poets.⁴⁵ He is very like Longinus also in his insistence on the value of forming one's mind by reading the best writers,⁴⁶ and thus acquiring a basis for sublimity of style. Add to this evidence the fact that Longinus' most eloquent remarks, those on the subject of the decline of oratory, are no more than a clever statement of a commonplace of the period,⁴⁷

sur les Écrits de Longin (Paris, 1854) is careful to quote similar passages from Quintilian, e. g., pp. 45 n., 85, 201.

⁴⁴ *Inst. Orat.* X, 1, 27; cf. X, 1, 27-30, 49-50, and 69-71.

⁴⁵ X, 1, 1-71 and 85-100.

⁴⁶ X, 1, 20 and 59; *περί ὕψους* XIII, 2; XIV; also I, 1 and II. Such an attitude would account for Longinus' "safe and sane" literary criticisms. He tends to deal only in the most famous authors, and his essay gains reflected glory from its fine quotations; scholars have for generations been exercised to know how original his judgments are, or whether they are sentiments general in his day, or even straight from Caecilius. But Longinus does not usually wander far from the beaten paths and then only when he has a predecessor, as Caecilius in the matter of the quotation from the Old Testament. There are enlightening comparative lists, showing how often the various authors are cited, in H. V. Apfel, *Literary Quotation and Allusion in Demetrius Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας and Longinus Περὶ ΤΨΟΥΣ* (Columbia diss., 1935), pp. 113-117.

⁴⁷ The lament about the decline of oratory which we find in chapter XLIV of this treatise is simply a platitude common in the age; cf.

and we can see that no Roman of that century would regard the *De Sublimitate* as anything but a rhetorical treatise. Even his famous chapter XXXV on the innate nobility of man is merely ordinary Stoic doctrine.

Professor Hendrickson's study in ancient style takes us farther on the way to understanding exactly what type of rhetorical treatise we have here.⁴⁸ He compares a number of passages in Quintilian and Longinus,⁴⁹ thus indicating the kinship of the two works, and in this connection says, "But the plain style, however admirable for its own ends, is in itself impotent to effect that *ψυχαιωγία* which is the true goal of oratorical effect. This can only be accomplished by the grand style which is in fact oratory itself. It was only this style which had won for eloquence place and historical significance in public life."⁵⁰ Because the high style has an "emotional effect which rises above persuasion and renders it superfluous," Theophrastus put it "in the same category with poetry."⁵¹ Indeed the conception of true eloquence as a kind of poetry in prose was the very origin of the rhetorical style as Aristotle says, and never ceased to be the accepted conception in circles uninfluenced by the rationalistic protest of some philosophical school."⁵²

Our conclusions, then, are that we can be certain of a client-patron relationship of some sort between Longinus and Teren-

W. Rhys Roberts, "The Greek Treatise on the Sublime, its Authorship," *J. H. S.*, XVII (1897), p. 200, n. 1; cf. also Roberts' edition, p. 14. Roberts cites as examples of similar statements about the loss of freedom and the decline of oratory: Seneca, *Ep.* 114; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XIV, 1; Pliny iun., *Ep.* VIII, 14; Tacitus, *Dial. de Orat.* XXIX, XXXVI, XXXVII; Velleius Paterculus, I, 17; Petronius, 88; Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* II, 10, 3. He also remarks that the complaints about the evils introduced by excessive wealth are likewise platitudinous. Christ-Schmid-Stählin⁶ (1920), II, p. 477, n. 1, give a full bibliography of the commonplace about the decline of oratory and remark that it was an ordinary subject of declamation in the rhetorical schools which could trace its ancestry back to Plato.

⁴⁸ G. L. Hendrickson, "The Origin and Meaning of the Ancient Characters of Style," *A. J. P.*, XXVI (1905), pp. 249-290.

⁴⁹ Pp. 274-275.

⁵⁰ P. 274.

⁵¹ Cf. p. 255 of Hendrickson's article where he cites in full and translates this passage from Theophrastus. It was to some such passage that Quintilian was referring in the section which I have quoted from him above.

⁵² P. 275.

tianus, and that Longinus was a far less important personage than Terentianus. Since the writer says in his introduction that his work was composed by request, and since we can guess the conditions under which the treatise was requested and composed, we should naturally suppose that the essay must have been in some measure influenced by them. Because it now appears that we have a work which is more concerned with rhetoric than with literary criticism, the necessity arises of revising our estimate of the value of the work.

Longinus is a peculiar author in that he is very important to modern literature, although we can find no mention of his name or reference to his treatise earlier than the thirteenth century.⁵³ He is neither quoted nor mentioned by any ancient author. Our greatest interest is in the influence he has had upon English letters.⁵⁴ It is remarkable that in England Longinus was little noticed and solely regarded as a rhetorician until Boileau spread abroad his fame as a literary critic with his translation of 1674. The few references which precede this time look upon him only as a rhetorician. But in the eighteenth century Longinus came to be used as the starting-point for emotional and "aesthetic" criticism as opposed to the neo-classical rules. As Monk says, "The sublime was divorced from considerations of style by Boileau, and attention was fixed upon its emotional effect."⁵⁵ Hence Longinus was an agent in ultimately producing the romanticism of the nineteenth century.

So we can conclude that the error made in English literature is one more of terminology than of fact. Longinus was in the tradition descending from Theophrastus, which allied the grand style with poetry and emotion. He should therefore be strictly regarded as a rhetorician. His judgments upon literature are very clever, but should be read and accepted with caution, as is true of Quintilian in a lesser degree, because these judgments are made primarily from a rhetorical standpoint and with the express purpose of seeking only *ψος*. The tendency since the time of Boileau has been to regard him more as a literary critic

⁵³ Roberts' edition, pp. 5 f.

⁵⁴ The material for this paragraph comes largely from S. H. Monk, *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-Century England* (New York, Modern Language Association of America, 1935), chapters I and XI.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

and consequently to accept too wholeheartedly his dicta as applying to literature in general, a very dangerous procedure indeed as the emotional romanticism of the nineteenth century has sometimes shown.

This tendency has communicated itself occasionally, and in a modified form, to English classical scholarship; even Roberts' edition of the *De Sublimitate* is touched a little by this same tradition, although he was more guarded than some later writers have been. Under such circumstances, then, we must look upon many statements which have been published about the *περὶ ὑψους* as at least partially invalid; and it seems to be true that the whole treatise presents a great need for reëxamination on the point of its value. Such an investigation could very readily start from the points discussed in this paper.

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ON THE PARTICLE $\pi\omega$ IN HOMER.

Everyone who has the slightest knowledge of ancient Greek is familiar with the particle $\pi\omega$ and will tell you that in the combinations $\omicron\pi\omega$ and $\mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omega$ its meaning is *not yet*.¹ This temporal meaning captures the modern mind whenever $\omicron\pi\omega$ is encountered in a Greek text, and one can scarcely doubt that the Greek mind had the same experience.² It would seem then that no one would dispute that this is always the meaning of $\omicron\pi\omega$. But in a few occurrences of the word, most of them in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, lexicographers, grammarians, and commentators, for well over a century, have denied that $\omicron\pi\omega$ bears this meaning. It has seemed to them that in these few places *not yet* will not fit, and they have resorted to an alleged second meaning of $\omicron\pi\omega$, *by no means, not at all, in no wise*, claiming that in these passages it is equivalent to $\omicron\pi\omega\varsigma$.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, this opinion begins with Hoogeveen in the eighteenth century.³ A little later Buttmann maintained that in several places in Homer $\omicron\pi\omega\varsigma$ and $\mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omega\varsigma$ drop their final sigma before a consonant and must then not be confused with the temporal adverb.⁴ This opinion soon found its way into editions of Homer. Only Ameis and Doederlein, it seems, opposed the trend by maintaining that $\omicron\pi\omega$ always means *not yet*, but they were not heeded.⁵ Faesi, who severely criticised

¹ I am indebted to Professors G. M. Calhoun, I. M. Linforth, J. T. Allen, and W. H. Alexander, who have read the first draft of the manuscript of this article and have given me valuable criticisms and suggestions.

² It will be understood that whatever I say about $\omicron\pi\omega$ will hold for $\mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omega$ too. Also I have preferred to write these combinations of $\pi\omega$ with a negative as one word, $\omicron\pi\omega$ and $\mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omega$, even in Homeric texts, rather than as two words, $\omicron\pi$ ω and $\mu\acute{\eta}$ $\pi\omega$, unless, of course, a tmesis occurs.

³ *Doctrina particularum linguae graecae in epitomen redegit* C. G. Schütz (Leipzig, 1806; Hoogeveen's original edition appeared in 1769), p. 544: "... rarior usus est, quo rationem modumve, quo quid fieri aut agi possit, excludit." Few grammarians have discussed $\pi\omega$. It is regrettable that J. D. Denniston did not include a treatment of $\pi\omega$ in his recent *Greek Particles* (Oxford, 1934).

⁴ *Buttmann's Larger Greek Grammar*, translated into English by Edward Robinson (Andover, New York, 1833), § 116, n. 6.

⁵ D. L. Doederlein, *Reden und Aufsätze* (Erlangen, 1843-47), II, pp. 261-263; K. F. Ameis, Review in *Jahrb. für Phil. und Paed.*, LXX (1854), pp. 265 f.

Ameis' view, held that $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omega$ bears the same relation to $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omega\varsigma$ as $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omega$ to $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omega\varsigma$.⁶ The Homeric lexicographers have followed the lead of these scholars. Crusius defined $\pi\omega$ with the words *je, irgend, noch*; Ebeling distinguished between temporal $\pi\omega$ and modal $\pi\omega$, defining the latter, when joined with the negative, as *nullo modo, keineswegs*; Autenrieth's lexicon gives *gar nicht* and Cunliffe's gives *in no wise* as a second meaning of $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omega$; and like definitions are found in other Homeric lexica and vocabularies.⁷ This modal definition is also to be found in the eighth and ninth editions of the Liddell-Scott *Greek-English Lexicon*; and in nearly every edition of Homer with commentary for the last century $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omega$ has been explained in this way in a varying number of verses: sometimes a commentator has needed to resort to *in no wise* or *not at all* only two or three times; sometimes he has done so in ten or twelve places. Among those who have adhered to the modal interpretation of $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omega$ are Faesi, Koch, Hentze, Düntzer, Leaf, and A. T. Murray. In fact, almost every school edition of Homer now informs one that $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omega$ not only means *not yet*, but also *by no means, in no wise, etc.*, to the students' eternal confusion.⁸

⁶ J. U. Faesi, "Zur Kritik und Erklärung Homers," *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, XIII (1855), pp. 449-51; see also J. Van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium dictionis epicae* (Leyden, 1918), pp. 400 f., § 326, pt. 2.

⁷ See G. C. Crusius, *Vollständiges griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch über die Gedichte des Homeros und der Homeriden* (Leipzig, 1852), s. v. $\pi\acute{\omega}$; Heinrich Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum* (Leipzig, London, Paris, 1880), s. v. $\pi\acute{\omega}$; Georg Autenrieth, *Wörterbuch zu den Homerischen Gedichten* (Leipzig, 1890), s. vv. $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omega$ and $\pi\acute{\omega}$; R. J. Cunliffe, *Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (London, Glasgow, Bombay, 1924) s. vv. $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}$ (8b) and $\pi\omega$. See also the following lexica and vocabularies under $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omega$ or $\pi\omega$: E. E. Seiler, C. Capelle, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch über die Gedichte des Homeros und der Homeriden* (Leipzig, 1889); Samuel Thurber, *Vocabulary to the First Six Books of Homer's Iliad* (Boston, 1890); G. B. Bonino, *Manuale Omerico* (Turin, Palermo, 1893); Christian Harder, *Schulwörterbuch zu Homers Ilias und Odyssee* (Leipzig, 1900); Oreste Nazari, *Dialecto Omerico* (Turin, 1921).

See also Emile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Heidelberg, Paris, 1938), p. 829; Karl Brugmann and Berthold Delbrück, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Strassburg, 1897-1916), II, pt. 2, p. 716.

⁸ The following editions, cited hereafter only by the editor's name, have been consulted in the preparation of this article: *Opera*: Anony-

Yet when a definite combination of sounds occurs hundreds or thousands of times in extant Greek literature with only one meaning, it is very dangerous to claim a quite different meaning for it in perhaps a dozen passages at most. For certainly *by no means* is an utter denial, while *not yet* indicates that the denial holds good only to a certain point. The ideas *never* and *by no means* might overlap, as they seem to do occasionally in $\sigma\upsilon\delta\alpha\mu\omega\varsigma$

mous Didot (Paris, 1845; with translation into Latin); O. Henke (Leipzig, 1894-1897); D. B. Monro and T. W. Allen (Oxford, 1919). *Iliad*: C. G. Heyne (Leipzig, 1802); N. Theseus (Florence, 1811-12); Anonymous (Glasgow, 1819); W. Trollope (London, 1836); Samuel Clarke (Edinburgh, 1845; with translation into Latin); G. C. Crusius (Hanover, 1845); T. H. L. Leary (London and Cambridge, 1857-59); F. A. Paley (London, 1866-71); V. H. Koch (Hanover, 1872-73); Heinrich Düntzer (Paderborn, 1873-78); J. U. Faesi, F. R. Franke (Berlin, 1876-80); I. La Roche (Leipzig, 1883); A. Pierron (Paris, 1883); K. F. Ameis, C. Hentze (Leipzig, 1884-1888); Paul Cauer (Vienna, Prague, Leipzig, 1890-91); Walter Leaf, M. A. Bayfield (London, 1895-98); Walter Leaf (London, 1902); A. T. Murray (London and New York, *L. C. L.*, 1924-25; with translation into English); T. W. Allen (Oxford, 1931); Victor Magnien (Paris, 1932). *Odyssey*: Anonymous (Leyden, 1655; with translation into Latin); Joshua Barnes (Cambridge, 1711; with translation into Latin); Samuel Clarke, J. A. Ernesti (Glasgow and London, 1814; with translation into Latin); G. C. Crusius (Hanover 1849-56); K. F. Ameis (Leipzig, 1856-60); Henry Hayman (London, 1866-82); Heinrich Düntzer (Paderborn, 1875); J. U. Faesi, G. Hinrichs (Leipzig, 1884-85); F. Weck (Gotha, 1886); G. H. Palmer (Boston, 1889; with translation into English); V. H. Koch, C. Capelle (Hanover and Leipzig, 1893); Paul Cauer (Vienna, Prague, Leipzig, 1894-95); J. Van Leeuwen, M. B. Mendes da Costa (Leyden, 1897); K. F. Ameis, C. Hentze, Paul Cauer (Leipzig and Berlin, 1908-11); A. T. Murray (London and New York, *L. C. L.*, 1919; with translation into English); Victor Bérard (Paris, Budé, 1924; with translation into French). Also I have consulted the following often reprinted school editions, most of which misinform the student about $\sigma\upsilon\pi\omega$: *Iliad*: Charles Anthon, J. J. Owen, J. R. Boise, D. B. Monro, R. P. Keep, E. B. Clapp, T. D. Seymour, A. R. Benner, J. R. S. Sterrett; *Odyssey*: J. J. Owen, W. W. Merry, B. Perrin, T. D. Seymour, D. B. Monro. The following books have also been used: English translations—*Iliad*: Andrew Lang, Walter Leaf, Ernest Myers (London, 1893); *Odyssey*: G. H. Palmer (Boston and New York, 1891); S. H. Butcher, Andrew Lang (London, 1906). Commentaries—C. F. von Nägelsbach, *Anmerkungen zur Ilias* (Nuremberg, 1850); Einer Schulmann, *Präparationen zu Homers Odyssee: Gesang I-III* (Cologne, 1873); C. Hentze, *Anleitung zur Vorbereitung auf Homers Odyssee* (Leipzig, 1891-93); Paul Cauer, *Anmerkungen zur Odyssee v-σ* (Berlin, 1896).

and οἰδαμά; but this is hardly conceivable for *not yet* and *by no means*. Taking the Homeric poems by themselves, *πω* occurs 124 times in the currently accepted text, but no one scholar has asserted the *nowise* meaning for it (and the negative) more than twelve or thirteen times.⁹ In later Greek literature there are not more than three or four passages where scholars commonly resort to *nowise* for οὐπω, though a few scattered attempts have been made elsewhere. If we follow the principle that we should not accept an unusual meaning for a word to suit only a very few instances of its occurrence unless we are forced to, we must carefully examine the passages in which οὐπω is interpreted as *nowise* to determine whether we really must give up *not yet* in these cases. Since the question arises principally in the Homeric poems, we must give most of our attention to the alleged occurrences of the *nowise* meaning in them. Now this interpretation is generally invoked in eleven verses: Γ 306, Δ 184, Δ 234, Μ 270, Ξ 143, Ο 426, Ρ 422, Χ 279, γ 226, μ 208, ψ 59. Let us look at these verses one at a time.

Δ 184: Θάρσει, μηδέ τί πω δειδίσσεο λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν.

According to Scholiast A, *που* was a variant reading in antiquity.¹⁰ The lexicographers, Ebeling and Cunliffe, and many editors keep *πω* and interpret it as *πως*.

When Menelaus has been struck by Pandarus' arrow, he shudders at the moment, but soon sees that his wound is light. Agamemnon, however, and the brothers' companions (Δ 154) are gravely alarmed, fearing that Menelaus has received a mortal wound. Agamemnon makes a sorrowful speech to Menelaus, in the course of which he says that if Menelaus should die, the Achaeans would at once want to abandon the war and go home (Δ 169-172). Menelaus, therefore, must reassure Agamemnon and prevent his alarming the host. So he says to Agamemnon, "There is no cause for alarm; so don't be frightening the host yet. I'm not yet done for."

Δ 234: Ἀργεῖοι, μήπω τι μεθίετε θούριδος ἀλκῆς.

Six manuscripts read *που* for *πω*; two read *ποτι* and six read *ποτε* for *πω τι*; but none of these manuscripts is earlier than the

⁹ I employ *nowise* as a convenient designation of the meaning of οὐπως and of the various modal translations of οὐπω.

¹⁰ See Scholiasts A and T *ad loc.*

thirteenth century. Eustathius was troubled by $\pi\omega$ here; he considered it superfluous in this line and in Γ 306, where he says that $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omega$ is equivalent to simple $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}$ and has no temporal meaning, as though, once $\pi\omega$ were said, its usual force would not be felt.

After the abruptly ended truce the Trojans renew their attack, and Agamemnon moves through the host, rallying his men to battle. The renewal of hostilities is sudden, and the men's hopes for an end of war are disappointed; yet there are many who have the spirit to make ready to meet the Trojans again. These men Agamemnon encourages, desiring that their spirit hold up until victory is won, of which he feels confident, now that the Achaeans have a moral advantage. So he says, "Argives, don't yet relax your ardent spirit; victory is surely ours, since Zeus will never favor men who are false to their oath." Our colloquial *yet a while* has something of the color of this $\pi\omega$.

Ξ 143: $\sigma\omicron\iota\delta'\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\upsilon\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma\kappa\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu.$

According to Scholiast T, some of the ancients read $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\iota$, and $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\iota$ is found in two manuscripts, the earlier belonging to the thirteenth century. Eustathius was undecided between temporal $\pi\omega$ and his expletive $\pi\omega$; here too, he thought, $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omega$ may mean no more than the simple negative.

These words are spoken to Agamemnon by Poseidon in the guise of an old man. His purpose is to convince Agamemnon that all is not yet lost for the Achaeans, though the outlook is dark. He points to Achilles gloating in his tent over the slaughter and rout of the Achaeans. Then he draws a contrast, marked by $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, between Achilles and Agamemnon: "May Achilles perish, and may God mar him; but as for you, the gods are not yet utterly wroth with you; the Trojans shall yet ($\xi\tau\iota$) raise a dust in flight over the plain." The $\xi\tau\iota$ of 144, it appears to me, makes a temporal interpretation of $\pi\omega$ inescapable. Even Faesi and Hentze recognised the significance of this $\xi\tau\iota$ and did not employ *nowise* here.

Also, it seems to me, $\pi\omega$ as $\pi\omega\varsigma$ would be a bit superfluous beside $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\upsilon$. The $\omicron\lambda\omega\varsigma$ of Scholiast T is an interpretation of this phrase and not of $\pi\omega$, as Ebeling thought.

O 426: $\mu\grave{\eta}\delta\eta\pi\omega\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\varsigma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\tau\tilde{\omega}\delta\epsilon.$

Scholiasts B and T hold that $\pi\omega$ is superfluous here.

Ajax, by killing Caletor, a Trojan champion and Hector's cousin, has brought dismay to the Trojan host. But Hector's desire is to keep the Trojans fighting in order to recover Caletor's body. So Hector says to his followers, "You mustn't give up the fight yet, though we are in this strait. Caletor's body must be recovered."

P 422: ὦ φίλοι, εἰ καὶ μοῖρα παρ' ἀνέρι τῷδε δαμῆναι
πάντας ὁμῶς, μήπω τις ἐρωεῖτω πολέμοιο (421 f.).

πως is read by sixteen manuscripts, the earliest of which may belong to the late twelfth century. *που* is read by three manuscripts, the earliest belonging to the thirteenth century.

As the Trojans fight the Achaeans for the body of Patroclus they exhort one another, saying, "Comrades, even if it be the fate of all of us together to die here over this body, no one must give up the fight yet." Myers translates *not yet* here, and the Liddell-Scott lexicon cites this verse under temporal *μήπω*, though the latter and Myers' fellow-translators resort to *nowise* for *οὐπω* in other verses. But Hentze, Ebeling, and Cunliffe refer this verse to the alleged modal *πω*.

X 279: Ἕμβροτες, οὐδ' ἄρα πῶ τι, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
ἐκ Διὸς ἠείδης τὸν ἐμὸν μῶρον . . . (279 f.).

Though Ebeling, Cunliffe, A. T. Murray, and others think that *οὐπω* means *nowise* here, this passage gave no trouble to any scholiast or scribe. There appears no good reason why Myers' translation cannot be accepted: "Thou hast missed, so *nowise* yet, godlike Achilles, hast thou known from Zeus the hour of my doom . . ." The *wise* of *nowise* is a translation of *τι*.

γ 226: ὦ γέρον, οὐπω τοῦτο ἔπος τελέεσθαι οἶω.

πως is read by some manuscripts of Photius and Suidas, who quote this line, and it is adopted by a few editors. The Brussels manuscript, sixteenth century, reads *ποτε*.

These words are said by Telemachus to Nestor, after Nestor has offered hope of Odysseus' return and of victory over the wooers through Athena's help. But Telemachus, who has already made it plain that he has little hope of Odysseus' return (γ 88-97, 208 f.), is still despairing. Yet he does not deny outright the possibility of Nestor's suggestion; rather, expressing at once

his deference to Nestor and his hopelessness, he says, "Sire, I have yet to be convinced that what you say will come true." The οὐπω should be taken closely with οἶω rather than with τελέεσθαι. This is consistent with the usual Greek practice of taking the negative closely with a verb of thinking rather than with the dependent infinitive;¹¹ and the πω belongs to the negative.

μ 208: ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ πώ τι κακῶν ἀδαήμενός εἰμεν.

Odysseus is speaking to his men as they approach Scylla and Charybdis. To give them courage he says, "Friends, we are not yet without experience of dangers, but the danger to come is no worse than those we have already endured." οὐπω suggests both the coming danger and the past dangers. Virgil translates (*Aen.*, I, 198), *neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum.*¹² His *ante* covers past dangers only, but shows plainly enough that πω is temporal here.

ψ 59: Μαῖα φίλη, μήπω μέγ' ἐπέυχεο καγχαλόωσα.

Though Ebeling and Cunliffe interpret μήπω modally here, many commentators have understood it as *not yet*. Its temporal force can be easily demonstrated. Eurycleia has joyfully brought Penelope the news of Odysseus' return and of the slaying of the wooers. To Penelope it seems too good to be true and she feels that Eurycleia is rejoicing too soon; so she says, "Dear nurse, don't boast and rejoice yet."

In the foregoing nine verses we see that there is no need to interpret οὐπω otherwise than with its usual force. There remain two verses in which οὐπω has seemed especially difficult to interpret as *not yet*. All interpreters for nearly a century have given πω a modal force in them.

M 270: ὦ φίλοι, Ἀργείων ὅς τ' ἔξοχος ὅς τε μεσήμενός
ὅς τε χερείτερος, ἐπεὶ οὐπω πάντες ὁμοῖοι
ἀνέρες ἐν πολέμῳ, νῦν ἔπλετο ἔργον ἅπασι (269-271).

πως is read in seven manuscripts, none of which is of earlier date than the thirteenth century.

¹¹ See H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar for Colleges* (New York, etc., 1920), § 2692.

¹² See Palmer's translation of μ 208: "hitherto we have not been untried in danger."

The two Ajaces are going up and down the Achaean rampart calling upon every man to do his part in the battle: "Friends, now there is work for every Argive warrior, be he good, bad or indifferent, (we speak thus of your worth) since all men have yet to be of equal worth in war." These words suit the blunt manner of the greater Ajax, who is more prominent in the poet's mind.¹³ Here and in γ 226 there is an effect of purposeful understatement in the use of *πω*, the intention being "not yet and never will be."

Γ 306: ἦτοι ἐγὼν εἴμι προτὶ Ἴλιον ἡγεμόεσσαν
 ἄψ, ἐπεὶ οὐπω τλήσομ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὄρασθαι
 μαρνάμενον φίλον νιὸν ἀρηϊφίλῳ Μενελάῳ (305-307).

Even Doederlein has granted that in this one place Homer uses *οὐπω* for *οὐπως*. Only Leary has interpreted this *οὐπω* as *not yet*. All editors before Heyne read *πως* for *πω*, and some, e. g. Causer, have done so since. Eustathius says, ἐνταῦθα μὲν γὰρ τὸ οὐπω ταῦτόν ἐστι τῇ οὐ ἀρνήσει. But the only manuscript variant is to be found in Papyrus 40: [ο]ὐ γάρ κεν τλαίην [ποτ' ἐν ὀφθα]λμοῖσιν ὄρασθ[αι]. The Paraphrast uses οὐδαμῶς in expressing this thought; but that is permissible in a paraphrase of the line, whether he read *πω* or *πως* in his text.¹⁴

We cannot suppose that in this one place *οὐπω* is to have a different meaning from that which it has everywhere else. How could any Greek, to whom *οὐπω* meant *not yet*, even in Homer's time, understand it otherwise when reading or hearing Γ 306. One must explain *οὐπω* as temporal or emend *πω* to *πως*. It seems to me that there is no need for emendation.

These words are spoken by Priam to the Trojans and Achaeans after the truce has been made for the single combat of Paris and Menelaus. Now Priam knows that someday he must perforce see sons slain and daughters carried off. In X 38-76 he tries to persuade Hector not to fight Achilles, and says during his plea (X 59-65):

πρὸς δ' ἐμὲ τὸν δύστηνον ἔτι φρονέοντ' ἐλέησον,
 δύσμορον, ὃν ῥα πατὴρ Κρονίδης ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ
 αἴσῃ ἐν ἀργαλέῃ φθίσει, κακὰ πόλλ' ἐπιδόντα,

¹³ See especially O 502-513; also N 810-820, O 733-741.

¹⁴ For the Paraphrast see Theseus' edition of the *Iliad*.

νῆας τ' ὀλλυμένους ἐλκηθείσας τε θύγατρας
καὶ θαλάμους κεραῖζομένους, καὶ νήπια τέκνα
βαλλόμενα προτὶ γαίῃ ἐν αἰνῇ δημοτῇτι,
ἐλκομένας τε νουὺς ὀλοῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

Before that terrible day he will, if possible, avoid the sight of a son's death. So he beseeches Hector not to stand against Achilles, and so he does not stay to watch Paris fight. That he is genuinely fearful of Paris' death is shown by Γ 259: when Idæus has reported the proposal for a single combat between Paris and Menelaus, the old man shudders: "Ὡς φάτο, ῥίγησεν δ' ὁ γερόν So after making the oath-offering Priam says, "I shall go back to the city; for not yet can I endure to watch a dear son fighting with Menelaus." Neither in Greek nor in English is there any difficulty about using *not yet* with the future tense. We can say, "I shall not do it yet." See κ 174 f.:

ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ πω καταδυσόμεθ', ἀχνύμενοί περ,
εἰς Αἶδαο δόμους

We find *μήπω* and *not yet* used with imperatives, of which the time of action is necessarily future.

Homeric usage also furnishes a weighty argument against understanding *πω* as *πως* in Δ 184, Δ 234, X 279, μ 208, and the argument is also effective against emending *πω* to *πως*. For these verses contain the adverbial *τι*, which when joined with the negative means *not at all*, and so is very close in meaning to *πως*. So, if *πω* should be understood as *πως*, or if *πως* should be read instead of *πω*, we should have a redundancy. That, of course, is not out of the question; but we find that though the indefinite *πως* is used ninety-three times in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, *τι* is not once used in company with it. On the other hand, *τι* is several times used with *πω* where there is no doubt of the temporal meaning of *πω*.¹⁵

I have already indicated that scholars have not been in agreement, even among the foregoing eleven verses, as to where *οὐπω* should mean *nowise* and where it should mean *not yet*. Keep, for instance, interprets *οὐπω* as *nullo modo* at Γ 306, and *μήπω* as equivalent to *μήπως* at Δ 184, but as *not yet* at Δ 234. Seiler and Capelle cite Γ 306 for the meaning *auf keiner Weise*, Ξ 143

¹⁵ See A 542, B 122, 252, Δ 719, N 521, Π 303, P 401, X 437, γ 23, σ 36.

and γ 226 for *noch nicht*. Crusius takes $\pi\omega$ modally in Δ 234 and γ 226, temporally in μ 208; Paley, modally in Γ 306, M 270, O 426, temporally in Δ 184, Δ 234, Ξ 143; Koch, modally in Γ 306, M 270, O 426, γ 226, temporally in ψ 59; Hentze, modally in Γ 306, Δ 184, Δ 234, M 270, O 426, γ 226, temporally in Ξ 143, ψ 59. Liddell and Scott cite Γ 306, M 270, Ξ 143, and O 426 for the modal interpretation, Δ 234 and P 422 for the temporal.

I think it evident in consequence of this investigation that one must either interpret $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega$ as *not yet* in each of these eleven verses or, if that seems intolerable, emend to $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega\varsigma$. But the damage done by the *nowise* notion has not been confined to these eleven verses. It seems that once scholars and students have begun to suppose that in a few exceptional places a word can have another than its well-established meaning, their minds become unsettled about the word; and, wherever they find it, they begin to ask themselves whether it does not have its exceptional rather than its usual meaning in this instance. The conjunction $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ is a case in point. Professor Misener has ably demonstrated that its meaning is always *for*;¹⁶ but those who have had difficulty in discerning the causal force of $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ in a few instances of its occurrence have maintained that in those instances it means *indeed*. This leads to interpreting $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ as *indeed* where its meaning is plainly *for*.¹⁷ The same thing has happened to $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega$: many scholars, being convinced that $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega$ can mean *nowise* just as well as *not yet*, have so interpreted it in a number of verses where no one could possibly be troubled about taking it as *not yet* unless he had become uncertain about the meaning of $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega$. A good example is Boise on A 108, where Agamemnon

¹⁶ Geneva Misener, *Meaning of $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$* (University of Chicago dissertation, 1904).

¹⁷ For example, Smyth, *op. cit.*, § 2814, has misunderstood the $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ of Xen., *Anab.* I, 8, 21 through supposing that it is confirmatory: $\text{K}\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma \delta' \acute{\omicron}\rho\omega\acute{\nu} \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \text{"}\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\nu\alpha\varsigma \nu\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma \tau\acute{\omicron} \kappa\alpha\theta' \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma . . . \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron \acute{\omicron}\tau\iota \pi\omicron\iota\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma. \kappa\alpha\iota \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \eta\delta\epsilon\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \acute{\omicron}\tau\iota \mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon \Pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon \sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$. Smyth translates, "And in fact he knew, etc." But the $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ is surely explanatory of $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron \acute{\omicron}\tau\iota, \kappa\tau\lambda.$

Some of the modal translations of $\pi\omega$ come dangerously close to *indeed*, that convenient basket in which particles are placed when they are not understood. There is no particle, it seems, that cannot have a "confirmatory sense": $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho, \gamma\epsilon, \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha, \delta\acute{\eta}, \omicron\upsilon\nu, \kappa\alpha\iota, \pi\omicron\nu$, even $\pi\omega$ (not to mention *enim, quidem*, etc.) can all alike mean *indeed*.

complains to Calchas, ἐσθλὸν δ' οὔτε τί πω εἶπας ἔπος οὔτ' ἐτέλεσσας. Who in his right mind can suppose that οὔπω does not mean *not yet* here? Yet Boise makes this comment: ". . . *you have neither spoken any noble word hitherto, nor, etc.* Or, if πώ here is taken in the sense of πώς, as seems necessary in some other passages, we may render, *you have neither in any way spoken, etc.*"¹⁸

Several scholars, including Hentze, Düntzer, and Faesi, have applied the modal interpretation of πω to B 419 and Γ 302. In B 419, after the conclusion of Agamemnon's prayer to Zeus for immediate victory over the Trojans, the poet says: "Ὡς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἄρα πώ οἱ ἐπεκράαινε Κρονίων. This simply means, "Thus he spake, but Cronus' son was not yet bringing his words to fulfillment."¹⁹ Γ 302 is nearly the same; perhaps the proximity of Γ 306 has affected judgment on it. On three verses Cunliffe adopts the modal interpretation, while Ebeling keeps to the temporal: A 224: . . . καὶ οὔπω λῆγε χόλοιο. Athena has restrained Achilles, and he sheathes his sword and refrains from violence. But he has not yet ceased his wrath and speaks bitter words to Agamemnon. θ 540: ἐκ τοῦδ' οὔπω παύσαι' οἰζυροῖο γόοιο / ὃ ξείνος. Alcinous is saying that since dinner and the beginning of Demodocus' song Odysseus has not yet ceased weeping. π 143: οὔπω μὴν φασιν φαγέμεν καὶ πείμεν αὐτῶς. Eumaeus tells Telemachus that since he went off to Pylos, Laertes has not yet taken anything to eat or drink. Hentze takes the πω of B 553 modally, while Cauer hesitates as to whether πω or πως should be read; but both Ebeling and Cunliffe agree upon

¹⁸ After this one is not surprised to find Boise equally unsound on γάρ; on A 262 he interprets: "*for not yet have I seen, etc.; or, if γάρ here is viewed as confirmative, surely, not yet, etc.*" It is a wonder that neither he nor anyone else has taken the οὔπω of this verse as *nowise*; why not "*for (or surely) by no means have I seen such men*"? I have had students who, misled by their textbooks, have not wanted to take οὔπω as *not yet* in A 262.

¹⁹ Cauer, though distinguishing between πω and πως according to meaning, was affected by the *nowise* theory to the extent that he read πως not only in some of the eleven verses discussed above but also in B 419 and other verses where *not yet* fits the sense admirably. He says, "πω et πως cum secundum significationem distinguerem, incerta vel adversa codicum auctoritate πως scribendum fuit his locis: B 419, Γ 302, 306, Δ 234, Μ 270, Σ 513. dubito de his: B 553, Ξ 143, Ρ 422, Χ 279" (*Ilias*, ed. Cauer, *Praefatio*, p. li).

the temporal $\pi\omega$ for this line: $\tau\tilde{\omega}$ δ' οὔπω τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ' ἀνὴρ. This is said of the Athenian Menestheus. But how does this differ from A 262, I 148, 290, ζ 167, σ 36, τ 365, where no one doubts that οὔπω means *not yet*? In Σ 513, οἱ δ' οὔπω πείθοντο, λόχῳ δ' ὑπεθωρήσσοντο, the anonymous Didot translator and A. T. Murray take οὔπω modally, and Causer reads οὔπως, while Ebeling cites this line for temporal $\pi\omega$. The line refers to the people of a besieged city pictured on Achilles' shield. It means simply that the defenders were not yet ready to yield, but were taking measures to help themselves. In β 118, κέρδεά θ' οἱ οὔπω τιν' ἀκούομεν οὐδὲ παλαιῶν (ἐπίστασθαι), Koch and the Liddell-Scott lexicon take οὔπω modally. But this is the same sort of idea as that found in B 553.

Ebeling also cites Ω 767, γ 221, δ 141, δ 269, ψ 240 as evidence for οὔπω = οὔπως; Murray uses *nowise* in A 504 and Ω 553; Hentze finds a modal $\pi\omega$ in ξ 509, Paley in P 190, and Liddell and Scott in ε 358. This is throwing caution to the winds. What schoolboy could fail to understand οὔπω as *not yet* in these verses?

I have already mentioned Faesi's theory that οὔπω is to οὔπως as οὔτω to οὔτως, and Buttmann's theory that Homer uses οὔπω before words beginning with consonants. But οὔτω, it must be remembered, never has a different meaning from οὔτως. And Homer has no objection to using οὔπως before consonants; see B 203, Ξ 63, X 126, for instance. And if the theory were correct, should we not find $\pi\omega$ for $\pi\omega\varsigma$ in positive sentences when the following word begins with a consonant? Causer paid no attention to this notion, but boldly read οὔπως before initial consonants wherever he thought οὔπω impossible.

It is true that the origin of $\pi\omega$ is in the Indo-European root *q^uo, which is also the root of $\pi\omega\varsigma$, $\pi\omega\nu$, $\pi\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\nu$, $\pi\acute{o}\iota\omicron\varsigma$, etc.²⁰ But we know that often the etymological origin of a word can tell us little of its later semantic development. All that we need ask is what $\pi\omega$ meant to the Greeks of Homer's time and of the centuries following.

Some who feel that οὔπω cannot always mean *not yet* assert that it also means *never*.²¹ They thus keep $\pi\omega$ within the temporal sphere. Now for purposes of translation it is certainly

²⁰ See Boisacq, *loc. cit.*; M. B. Mendes da Costa, *Index etymologicus dictionis Homericae* (Leyden, 1905), p. 235.

²¹ E. g. see Benner's vocabulary, *s. v.* $\pi\omega$.

permissible to render οὔπω occasionally by *never*.²² But no word can mean both *not yet* and *never*. They are quite different sorts of negation. And in all the verses quoted above οὔπω can be understood without supposing that it means *never*.

Now let us turn to Greek authors after Homer to see whether they give any support to the notion that οὔπω sometimes means *nowise* or *never*. In the Homeric hymns and in Hesiod οὔπω is plainly *not yet* in every instance of its occurrence. Doederlein felt some difficulty in the πω of Hesiod's *Works and Days* 273:

ἀλλὰ τά γ' οὔπω ἔολπα τελεῖν Δία μητιόεντα.

But Hesiod has just said that perhaps the unrighteous man will have the greater right, and adds, "But I'm not yet ready to believe that Zeus will bring that to pass."²³

The most troublesome occurrences of πω in post-Homeric Greek literature are found in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*.²⁴ Liddell and Scott cite verses 105 and 594 as instances of modal πω, and in 1130 οὔπω has also been taken modally or as *never*. Editors are in general agreed that the πω of 594 is *yet*, where Creon says to Oedipus:²⁵

οὔπω τοσοῦτον ἡπατημένος κυρῶ
ὥστ' ἄλλα χρεῖζεν ἢ τὰ σὺν κέρδει καλά (594 f.).

As Jebb puts it, "Not yet am I so misguided as to desire other

²² No doubt the poet would have added ποτε in some cases if the metre had allowed it. οὐπώποτε is common in Homer; e.g. A 106, 154, Γ 442, μ 98. Interesting is *Batrachomyomachia* 178, where Athena says to Zeus: ὦ πάτερ, οὐκ ἂν πάποτ' ἐγὼ μυσι τειρομένοισιν / ἐλθοίμην ἐπαρωγός. . . . Here the force of πω is scarcely felt; but it is in origin temporal. οὐπώποτε, meaning *never yet*, frequently employed with a past or present tense, tends to mean much the same thing as simple οὔποτε, and so becomes used with the future tense or its equivalent as though it were merely οὔποτε.

²³ See H. G. Evelyn-White's translation (London, New York, *L. C. L.*, 1914).

²⁴ The editions that I shall refer to in my discussion of Sophocles' verses are: *Opera*: Lewis Campbell (Oxford, 1879); F. W. Schneidewin, August Nauck (Berlin, 1888-91); W. Dindorf, S. Mekler (Leipzig, 1918); A. C. Pearson (Oxford, 1924). *O. T.*: M. L. Feuillet (Paris, 1898); R. C. Jebb (Cambridge, 1902).

²⁵ F. Ellendt, *Lexicon Sophocleum* (Berlin, 1872), p. 577, denies that πω has a temporal meaning in 594. But see Doederlein, *op. cit.*, p. 261; also Jebb *ad loc.*

honours than those with profit." The $\pi\omega$ lends an ironical touch to the words. In 1130, Oedipus, in pointing out the Corinthian messenger to the Theban herdsman, says, $\tau\acute{o}\nu\delta' \delta\epsilon \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ ($\omicron\iota\sigma\theta\alpha \mu\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$), $\eta \sigma\upsilon\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\varsigma \tau\acute{\iota} \pi\omega$; $\pi\omega$ is the reading of the Laurentian manuscript. But $\pi\omega\varsigma$ is found in the important manuscript A, Paris 2712, and $\pi\upsilon$ is read by the Bodleian, a late manuscript. Many editors have adopted $\pi\omega\varsigma$, $\pi\upsilon$, or $\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$, in place of $\pi\omega$. Here no negative is found, but the question is equivalent to a negative. The presence of $\tau\iota$ should be noticed; whether it is ever used with $\pi\omega\varsigma$ after Homer's time I cannot say, but at most the combination is rare. Since $\pi\omega$ has the best manuscript authority it should be read if possible. And it is not difficult to explain it as *yet*. Oedipus asks, "Are you aware of having met this man yet (i. e. before now)?"²⁶ Most difficult is verse 105. Creon has just spoken of Laius, saying that he was king of Thebes before Oedipus came. Oedipus says, $\xi\acute{\xi}\omicron\upsilon\delta' \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omega\nu \cdot \omicron\upsilon \gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho \epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu \gamma\acute{\epsilon} \pi\omega$. Late manuscripts read $\pi\upsilon$, and Hartung emended $\gamma\acute{\epsilon} \pi\omega$ to $\gamma' \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}$.²⁷ Campbell and Nauck interpret $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega$ as *never*; Feuillet says that it is equivalent to $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega\varsigma$. Doederlein was for adopting $\pi\upsilon$, and that would do very well; but we should read $\pi\omega$ if possible. Jebb understands $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega$ as *not yet*, believing that it gives a tone of unconcern to Oedipus' words. There is perhaps a suggestion of unconcern in it, but I believe that there is another reason for it: Oedipus means to say that he had not seen Laius up to the time that he first came to Thebes, which was shortly after Laius' death. The chorus have reminded Oedipus of his coming to Thebes (35-39); Creon has just mentioned his succeeding Laius; and that time is never far from his thought throughout the play. So he says, "I know of him by hearsay, since I hadn't yet seen him." The aorist, we know, is often used where we use the pluperfect, especially in clauses introduced by causal or temporal conjunctions.²⁸ Soph., *El.* 403 might also be mentioned here, in which the usual force of $\pi\omega$ has been doubted.²⁹ It is to be interpreted exactly as in *O. T.* 594.

²⁶ See Jebb's translation: "— or of having ever met him before?" Campbell interprets $\pi\omega$ as *ever*.

²⁷ See Pearson's critical apparatus.

²⁸ See Smyth, *op. cit.*, § 1943.

²⁹ $\mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omega \nu\omicron\upsilon \tau\omicron\sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu\delta' \epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta\nu \kappa\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}$.

Also in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 580 some have found it difficult to understand οὔπω as *not yet*:

Lamachus. Τί δ' εἶπας ἡμᾶς; οὐκ ἐρεῖς; Dicaeopolis. Οὐκ οἶδά πω.
ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους γὰρ τῶν ὀπλων εἰλιγγιῶ (580 f.).

Müller and Meineke emended to Δι. Οὐκ οἶδα. Λα. Πῶς; Blaydes suggested Οὐκ οἶδ' ἔτι.³⁰ But, as Doederlein pointed out, verse 581 adequately explains οὔπω. When the blustering Lamachus asks, "What's that you say? Speak up," Dicaeopolis in mock terror replies, "I'm not sure yet, I'm still dizzy from fear."

This is the last passage that need detain us. οὔπω has been taken as *nowise* or as *never* in Aesch., *frag.* 241, Eur., *Hec.* 1278, Thuc., III, 45, 2, Oppian, *Cyn.* III, 391, Philostratus, *Imagg.* I, 25, 1.³¹ But it is hardly necessary to demonstrate that in each οὔπω has its usual force. I have found no reason to suppose that its meaning is ever anything but *not yet*.

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³⁰ See *Acharnians*, ed. C. E. Graves (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 92 f.

³¹ See Doederlein, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

In the course of our work on the papyri and ostraca recovered by the University of Michigan Expedition at Kôm Aushim (Karanis), we have had occasion to review the extant evidence for the *μονοδεσμία*¹ and the *ἔκτον*.² Much that we should like to know regarding the origin, incidence, and rates of these taxes remains obscure, and the difficulties have been increased by the recent publication of a Karanis ostrakon of the second century A. D. which appears to supply a connecting link between them. As transcribed by Leiv Amundsen,³ the text reads

Κερκ(εσούχων) κατοίκ(ων) Γάιος
 Ίούλιος Κλήμης
 (ἔκτον) κα(τοιικῆς) μονο(δεσμίας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) β (ἡμισυ),
 ἔκτον βασι(λικῆς) μονο(δεσμίας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ (ἔκτον) κβ,
 γ(ίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ε (ἡμισυ) (ἔκτον) κβ.

When the text is examined for form and meaning, a number of difficulties suggest themselves. (1) The heading in line 1 provides the information that this is a receipt for payment of catoecic dues; yet line 4 introduces a payment on crown land. A *κάτοικος* might well lease land of the latter category from the *fiscus*, but would he pay for it under the rubric *κατοίκων*? (2) The tax in question is the *μονοδεσμία χόρτον*, which is found frequently associated with a group of unnamed taxes in the phrase *ὑπὲρ μονοδεσμίας χόρτον καὶ ἄλλων εἰδῶν*, but elsewhere it is regularly paid in silver. The payments in the Michigan ostrakon are in artabas of wheat.⁴ (3) Heretofore, no relation has been suspected between *ἔκτον* and *μονοδεσμία*, and none can be inferred from the available evidence, which is especially meager for *ἔκτον*. The Karanis ostrakon, with its juxtaposition of discordant

¹ S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton, 1938), pp. 72-74.

² Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 28; A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian* (*An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, ed. by Tenney Frank, II), p. 509.

³ *Greek Ostraca in the University of Michigan Collection*, Part I, No. 154.

⁴ Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 f.

elements, does not advance our understanding of either tax.⁵ (4) The fractions in lines 4 and 5 exhibit a twenty-second of an artaba, and $1/22$ does not belong to any of the series attested for the measurement of artabas. Only three series⁶ occur: $1/2$, $1/4$, $1/8$; $1/3$, $1/6$, $1/12$, $1/24$, $1/48$, etc.; $1/5$, $1/10$. The difficulty is of a palaeographic order. If $1/22$ had been used, it would have looked just like $1/24$. The fractions $1/12$ and $1/24$, for example, in their usual cursive form, show no distinction in the manner of writing β and δ , both of which are reduced to a small loop or circle.⁷

Our revision⁸ of Amundsen's text has resulted in a few significant changes in lines 3-5, and the objections fall away entirely in the light of the new reading.

Κερκ(εσούχων) κατοίκ(ων) Γάιος

Ίούλιος Κλήμης

(ἐκτου) <ἔτους> β η $\overline{\text{προ(σμετρονμένων)}}$ γ $\overline{\kappa\delta}$, (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) β (ἡμισυ),

ἐκτου <ἔτους> β $\overline{\beta}$ η $\overline{\text{προ(σμετρονμένων)}}$ γ $\overline{\iota\beta}$, (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ (ἐκτον) $\overline{\kappa\delta}$,

γ (ίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ϵ (ἡμισυ) (ἐκτον) $\overline{\kappa\delta}$.

The accounting of the new text may be represented as follows:

line 3 $2 \frac{1}{8}$ artabas + $\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{24}$ art. = $2 \frac{1}{2}$ art.

line 4 $2 \frac{2}{3} \frac{1}{8}$ artabas + $\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{12}$ art. = $3 \frac{1}{6} \frac{1}{24}$ art.

line 5 $5 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{6} \frac{1}{24}$ art.

The payment recorded in line 3 occurs in exactly the same amounts in the *sitologus* day-books of payments of catocic and other dues: *Berl. Leihgabe*, No. 3, I, 16 and III, 25, *B. G. U.*, IX,

⁵ Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 384, n. 119: "the significance of ἐκτου in this connection is to me quite obscure."

⁶ Ulrich Wilcken, *Grundzüge der Papyrskunde*, p. lxxix; *P. Fayûm*, 101, introd.

⁷ Wilcken, "Die griech. Ostraka des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunde im Rheinlande," *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfr. im Rheinl.*, LXXXVI (1888), pp. 239 f.; F. G. Kenyon, *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (Oxford, 1899), p. 156.

⁸ We were unable to see the ostrakon itself, since it has been returned to the Egyptian Museum at Cairo, but we have had the advantage of a beautifully clear photograph made by Mr. G. R. Swain of Ann Arbor.

1893, 487. The *προσμετρούμενα* or extra charges were $1/6$ of the principal in the calculation of taxes on private land.⁹ On this basis, the extra charge in line 3 would have been, more accurately, $1/3 \frac{1}{48}$ artaba, but in taxes of the kind in question fractions less than $1/24$ are frequently raised to $1/24$.¹⁰ In line 4 an extra charge of $1/3 \frac{1}{12} \frac{1}{24}$ artaba would have been justified, and the absence of $1/24$ may be attributed to carelessness or indifference on the part of the clerk.¹¹

The text of the Karanis ostrakon is a receipt for taxes on catocic land. On the formal side it is extremely concise as compared with the large group of known Fayûm receipts of the same kind.¹² The latter, however, contain all its constituent elements: place, type of taxation, taxpayer, year, payment in quantities of wheat. The ostrakon has a much closer correspondence with the entries in the day-books of the *sitologi*.¹³ *B. G. U.*, IX, 1893, 487 is a close parallel:

Θαῖσάριον Διοδόρου Βερ(νικίδος) κ(ατ)οί(κων) β ἡ' προ(σμετρομένων)
γ κδ, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) β (ἥμισυ).

The artaba sign is omitted here before the principal sum and the extra charge, just as in the Michigan ostrakon. The entry in the day-book does not give the year because that has already been specified in the general heading in lines 150-155. The number of the year is given, however, in individual entries of a day-book when payments cover more than one year. In *Berl. Leihgabe*, 4 Verso, for example, Col. V, 13 f., has the following record of rents paid by a lessee of crown land:

Ἡρακλῆς Ἀφροδ(ισίου) δη(μοσίων) ε (ἔτους) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) μθ β',
ὁ αὐτὸς λη(μμάτων) δ (ἔτους) Θε(αδελφείας) δη(μοσίων) (πυροῦ
ἀρτάβαι) γ ιβ

⁹ Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 f.

¹⁰ A cursory examination of *Berl. Leihgabe*, No. 3 and *B. G. U.*, IX, 1893, leaves no doubt on this point. Cf. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1899), I, pp. 749 f.

¹¹ A similar phenomenon may be observed in money payments. E. g., in the *Tax Rolls from Karanis* (*P. Mich.*, IV), the unit of calculation is 2 chalkoi, but that small sum is occasionally dropped. See *A. J. P.*, LVII (1936), p. 467; *P. Rylands*, II, pp. 240 f.

¹² For useful lists see *P. Fayûm*, 81, introd.; *Berl. Leihgabe*, 25, introd.; *P. Oslo*, II, 28, comment. Add *P. Aberdeen*, 32.

¹³ This is equally true of *O. Mich.*, I, 24; see the revision in *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), pp. 199-201.

The same form is used for arrears on catocic land in several entries, e. g., Col. X, 19 f.: ἡ αὐτὴ λη(μμάτων) δ (ἔτους) Διονυσί(αδος) κ(α)ρί(κων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) κτλ. As these illustrations show, *Berl. Leihgabe*, 4 Verso sometimes agrees with the ostrakon in placing the year immediately before the statement of artabas. The omission of the symbol for year in the Michigan text is most unusual¹⁴ but explicable on the ground of the characteristic brevity of ostrakon texts. The formulaic omission of the artaba signs may have provided the impulse for further condensation.

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¹⁴ It does happen rarely; see Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, II, Nos. 1474 (cf. Preisigke-Bilabel, *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, II, pt. 1, p. 112), 1595, and J. G. Tait, *Greek Ostraca*, *Flinders Petrie Collection*, No. 135 (p. 97). The omission of the year sign is nevertheless so extraordinary that only comparison of the Michigan ostrakon with the other Fayûm receipts and the day-books has convinced us that ἔκρου <ἔτους> represents the intention of the scribe.

THE ORIGIN OF THE THIRD CYRENAIC LEGION.

Lesquier, *L'Armée Romaine d'Égypte*, p. 56, as well as Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* "Legio," have discussed briefly the origin of *legio III Cyrenaica*. It, as well as the twenty-second legion at first, bore the name *Cyrenaica* not because these two legions were recruited in that province but because they had done service there presumably of a notable character. In 27 B. C. Cyrene became, and thereafter remained, a senatorial province, so that the presence of the legions there must have been before that date. Thus Lesquier, who adds that the notable service was probably the desertion to Octavian after Actium. What is certain is that both received the name *Cyrenaica* and were transferred to the garrison of Egypt, where they served under its first governor, C. Cornelius Gallus, who had persuaded the four legions stationed in Cyrene under Pinarius Scarpus to desert to Octavian. Later the twenty-second legion received the name *Deiotariana*, derived from the famous Tetrarch of Galatia, and thereby fixed its origin in that kingdom and under that ruler. No attempt has been made to trace the *legio III Cyrenaica* earlier than its service in Cyrene, though the desertion of the garrison of Cyrene to Octavian is associated by Lesquier, p. 41, with the desertion of Galatian auxiliaries to Octavian before Actium (Dio Cassius, 50, 13, 8; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 61-63; Velleius Paterculus, 2, 84, 2; Horace, *Epode* 9, 17), and Deiotarus had armed and trained two legions in Roman fashion according to *Bellum Alexandrinum*, 34, 4.

In discussing the inscription *C. I. L.*, III, 6627 Mommsen long ago noted the important evidence given by the record of the birthplaces of thirty-six legionary soldiers, but explained the preponderance of Galatian towns by reference to the known reputation of Galatians as soldiers. Unfortunately the beginning of the inscription is not preserved, so the names of the two legions, shown by parallel columns of soldiers' names and cohort numbers, do not appear. The left-hand column is, however, proved to belong to the Third Cyrenaic legion by the epitaph of one of its soldiers found at Coptos (Lesquier, p. 57). The legion to which the names of the right-hand column belonged is left doubtful by Lesquier, though Mommsen had referred both

columns to the Third and Twenty-second legions without distinguishing. Lesquier's doubt is perhaps because of Strabo, XVII, p. 797, which puts three legions in Egypt in his time. *C. I. L.*, III, 6627 cannot be later than the reign of Tiberius because of the absence of cognomina, but it may belong to the time of Augustus. Strabo's description of Egypt belongs about 21 B. C. (cf. Lesquier, p. 10) and so proves the presence of a third legion only for the very earliest period. No inscriptional evidence for the extra legion has been found. We may then provisionally assume with Mommsen that inscription III, 6627 contains the names of soldiers of the III and XXII legions, and since the left-hand column names are known to belong to the Third legion, the right-hand column must be referred to the Twenty-second legion.

When we examine the birthplaces of these soldiers we find in the Third legion that ten are from Galatian towns and one other from Nicaea of nearby Bithynia, while only two are from a distant province, Gaul, two from Alexandria, and one each from Sidon, Paraetionium, and the camp village.

The right-hand column, referred to the Twenty-second legion, is similar, for nine of the soldiers have Galatian towns as birthplaces, Ancyra furnishing six, while Alexandria has four names, Cyrene, camp, Cyprus, and Syria one each, and one is referred doubtfully to Italy. It is known that most of the legions were originally recruited in Italy and cities of the west possessing citizenship or Latin rights, but the scanty records of later times show a strong tendency to recruit from the province where the legion was located, or from those nearby. A notable example, based on abundant evidence, is *legio VII Claudia*, in which, during the first century A. D., we find nineteen soldiers from Italy, fourteen from Galatia and its neighbors, four from Macedonia, two each from Asia and Moesia, and one each from Gaul and Noricum; but after 109 A. D., when it was located in Upper Moesia, a single inscription shows one hundred and four from Upper Moesia, twelve from Lower Moesia, six from Dacia, eight from Pannonia, five from Dalmatia, and three from Macedonia.

It seems, therefore, rather strange to find so large a percentage of the soldiers of these two legions giving Galatian towns as their place of origin in an inscription which seems best referred to a

period a generation or more after the creation of the two legions. Both the explanation and the confirmation of the assumed date are found in the tribal designation added to the name of each soldier, for twenty-six out of the thirty-six are of the Pollian tribe, which regularly indicates that the recipient, an illegitimate son of a soldier, was given Roman citizenship upon enlistment in a legion. As expected, the two soldiers naming the camp as their birthplace are from the Pollian tribe, but also all of the nineteen from Galatian towns except three from Tavium, who are of the Sergian tribe. Furthermore, the six from Alexandria are of the Pollian tribe, as well as one each from Sidon in Syria and from Cyrene. The one soldier from Vercellae (?) of Italy and another from Paphos in Cyprus are of the Aniensian tribe, one from Paraetionium is of the Pupinian tribe, one from Berytus of the Fabian, one from Nicaea of the Papirian, and two from Lugudunum of the Galerian tribe. These seven, with the three of the Sergian tribe from Tavium, were doubtless real Roman citizens, who were recruited in Roman towns and forwarded to Egypt, or who went to Egypt and enlisted in these legions because they had relatives or friends there. The twenty-six of the Pollian tribe seem all the sons of soldiers, who in all but two cases claimed the nationality of their mothers.¹ Thus sixteen real Galatian soldiers of the early period obtained their wives from their native Galatia, while six married women possessed of Alexandrian citizenship. The early duty of the legion in Cyrene explained the one soldier of the Pollian tribe from that province, and the commerce between Sidon and Alexandria might cause a Sidonian family to change its residence.

If this interpretation is correct, it is necessary to date the inscription III, 6627 a full generation or more after Actium, for most of the soldiers' names seem to show descendants of the original Galatian recruits. Almost equally necessary seems the assumption that as early as the reign of Tiberius the legions in Egypt were being recruited in large measure from the sons of soldiers, though this fact is disguised by the recruits claiming the nationality of their mothers.

Other inscriptions, all belonging to the first century A. D., add four Galatian soldiers to the Third legion and two to the

¹ Children born out of wedlock followed the status of the mother; cf. Roby, *Roman Private Law*, I, p. 20.

Twenty-second. Only three claim homes outside of Galatia, one each from Damascus and Ptolemais are of the Third legion, and one of the Twenty-second legion named Utica as his home. For these the tribal names are not given, but at least no change is indicated in the earlier system of recruiting.

Thus all the evidence available shows the Third Cyrenaic legion as even more strongly Galatian than the Twenty-second Deiotarian. Both legions were almost certainly taken by Antony from the Galatian army of Deiotarus or from his successor Amyntas.

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HORACE, ODES, 3, 5, 13-18.

Hoc caverat mens provida Reguli
dissentientis condicionibus
foedis et exemplo trahentis
perniciem veniens in aevum
si non periret immiserabilis
captiva pubes.

The difficulty in this passage lies in the words *exemplo trahentis perniciem*, the reading of all the MSS with the single exception of Codex Parisinus 7973, which gives *exemplis*, a palpable dittography.¹ With almost equal universality the editors have accepted Canter's emendation of *trahentis* to *trahenti*, to produce a reading which of course gives excellent sense.² Bentley preferred to emend *exemplo* to *exempli*, because, as he remarks, he could find no reason why a hypothetical *trahenti* should ever have been changed by the scribes to *trahentis*. Some editors,³ perhaps feeling the cogency of Bentley's argument, have returned to the reading of the MSS. They interpret *exemplo* as ablative of source or separation and render: "drawing from such precedent (a presage of) ruin for future time."⁴

With this interpretation there is a fundamental difficulty; if

¹ Cf. Keller-Holder, 1899*, on vs. 15.

² Cf. Kiessling-Heinze, 1930⁷, on vs. 13, *ad fin.*: "eben diese *condiciones* würden ein *exemplum* sein, das Verderben nach sich ziehen würde (*trahenti* = *quod traheret* ist notwendige Besserung des überlieferten *trahentis*), wenn es das Leben der Gefangenen rettete."

³ E. g. Shorey-Laing, Bennet-Rolfe.

⁴ Shorey-Laing on vs. 15.

the MS reading is to be retained—and I believe it is—it must be explained in some other way.

In the first place the use of *perniciēs* in the pregnant sense of “a presage of ruin” is, so far as I know, unparalleled. Far more fundamental, however, is the anomalous interpretation of *exemplo* as ablative of separation with the verb *trahere*. In general, certainly, the simple ablative of separation is used only with verbs which contain in themselves the idea of separation or motion away from an object, e. g. *desistere*, *liberare*, *movere*, *abstinere*, *prohibere*, or with verbs compounded with *de*, *ab*, *ex*, etc. If any other verb is used, the idea of separation is made clear by the use of the prepositions *de*, *ab*, or *ex* with the ablative.⁵ This is especially to be observed in the case of *trahere*, which means “draw along” or “draw toward” but not “draw away from.” When the latter meaning is required, *trahere* should properly be followed by the ablative with a preposition.⁶

This awkward if not impossible ablative construction may be abandoned if we take *exemplo* as a dative and interpret the whole phrase *exemplo trahentis perniciem* in the light of legal phraseology. Legal Latin is entirely appropriate here: *Regulus* is arguing in the *curia* against the adoption of a treaty; furthermore a legalistic tone has already been imported into the passage by the use of the legal term *condiciones*, “terms, stipulations.”⁷

In legal Latin the verb *trahere* is used in the technical sense of “assign to a legal category.” For example when Justinian, in the *Institutes*, is discussing the classification of the *donatio mortis causa* he remarks that the ancient jurists were in doubt whether to call it a gift (*donatio*) or a legacy (*legatum*): some assigned it to one category, others to the other: *alii ad alium genus eam retrahebant*.⁸ Again, in discussing the various types of imperial decrees he says: *plane ex his quaedam sunt personales, quae nec ad exemplum trahuntur*: “clearly some of these are personal, and are not assigned to the category of *exemplum* (‘precedent’)”; i. e. they do not “set a precedent,” but apply only to the one person for whose punishment or benefit they have been handed down.⁹

⁵ Cf. Roby, *Lat. Gram.*, II, 1262; Allen and Greenough, 400-403.

⁶ See the dictt. s. v.

⁷ Cf. Kiessling-Heinze, *loc. cit.* ⁸ *Inst.*, 2, 7, 1.

⁹ *Inst.*, 1, 2, 6. A modern parallel is to be found in the Act of Congress by which the Congressional Medal of Honor is awarded.

If Horace's *exemplo* be taken as the common poetic dative of the end of motion, the phrase *exemplo trahentis perniciem* will be exactly parallel to the *ad exemplum trahuntur* of the *Institutes*. Regulus "assigns this *perniciem* to the category of *exemplum*," or in simpler words, "claims that this *perniciem* is setting a precedent." The *perniciem* is "this dangerous act," "this source of destruction," the nature of which is explained by the phrase *si non periret immiserabilis captiva pubes*.¹⁰ The phrase *veniens in aevum*, further, is to be construed with *exemplo* rather than with *perniciem*: "a precedent for time to come." Regulus was arguing that, if the Senate accepted the terms of the Carthaginians and ransomed the captive soldiers, this dangerous act would set a precedent for future time, and in future wars Roman soldiers, sure of being ransomed, would surrender rather than fight unto death. The passage may then be translated: "This the presaging mind of Regulus did guard against, for he dissented to the shameful terms, and branded this dangerous action a precedent for time to come, if the captive young men did not perish without pity."

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THE HESYCHIAN GLOSS FOITA: *OIS "SHEEP."

In the Hesychian gloss φοιτα· οἷς,¹ the initial Γ is almost certainly a misreading for F,² so that the word should be read

¹⁰ A similar use of *perniciem* occurs in Cic., *Verr.*, 1, 1, 2, where Verres is called *perniciem provinciae Siciliae*. Cf. Shorey-Laing, *loc. cit.*

¹ Emendation of οἷς to ὕς, with comparison of γοῖ, γοῖ "grunt, grunt" (of pigs), suggested in the *Oxford Greek Dictionary*, p. 356^a, seems unnecessary; and connexion with the Hesychian gloss φοιτα: ὕν. Μακεδόνες, proposed by M. Schmidt in his editio minor of Hesychios, 2nd ed. (Jena, 1867), is valueless, since φοιτα is derived from *g^hūtó- < *g^hu-tó- "befouled" (cf. Sanskrit gū-tha- "excrement," lexicographical Sanskrit gav- "cacare"; cf. Walde-Pokorny, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* [Berlin and Leipzig, 1930-32], I, 694-696), and its explanation as *h₂fav (O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen* [Göttingen, 1906], pp. 9, 16, 44) is quite incorrect (for Macedonian o = Indo-European u, cf. the Macedonian gloss γοδα· ἐντρεπα. Μακεδόνες: Sanskrit gudá- "intestine"; Hoffmann, p. 49; Walde-Pokorny, I, 559).

² G. N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 116-118; cf. FOI, FE for FOI, FE in the epigrams of Balbilla, I, 7, 15.

φοῖτα. Its etymology then becomes quite evident as a derivative of the base **ḡouei-* "sheep,"³ of which it is the Z(ero-)N(ormal) grade **uei-*. The various grades of this base historically found are as follows:

NZ **ḡóui-*: Sanskrit *ávi-* "sheep," *ávya-* "relating to sheep," Armenian *hoviw* < **ḡóui-pā* "shepherd," *awdi* < **ḡóui-dhi-* "sheep,"⁴ Homeric *ōis* "sheep," Hesychian *oiai*· διφθέραι, μηλωταί < **ōfi-lio-*, *oias* (nominative singular?)· τὰ θήλεα πρόβατα < **ōfi-ad-*, *oias* (accusative plural?)· τῶν προβάτων τὰ σκεπαστήρια δέρματα < **ōfi-ia*, *oios* < **ōfi-eios* "relating to sheep," Latin *ovis*, Middle Irish *ói* "sheep," Welsh *ewig*, Old Cornish *euhiç* "hind," Gothic *awi-str* "sheep-fold," Anglo-Saxon *éowe*, English *ewe*, Old High German *ou* (plural *owi*) "sheep," Old Prussian *awins* "ram," Lithuanian *avìs*, Old Church Slavic *ovī-ca* "sheep";

NR(educed) **ḡóuei-* > **ḡóui-*: Latin *ovī-le* "sheep-fold," *ovī-lis*, *ovī-nus* "relating to sheep," Lithuanian *avý-tė* "little sheep";

RN **ḡouéi-* > **ḡauéi-*: Gothic *awe-þi* "flock of sheep";⁵

RZ **ḡoui-éio-*: Sanskrit *avy-áya-* "relating to sheep";

ZN **ḡuói-*: Hesychian φοῖτα (written γοῖτα).⁶

With infix -*ḡe-*,⁷ the NZZ grade of the extended **ḡo-ḡe-uei-*

³ For this base, there written **oui-*s, see Walde-Pokorny, I, 167, and cf. the present writer's "Sur l'inflection des prétendus thèmes en -i" in *BSLP*, XXXI (1931), pp. 34-42. In all these Indo-European forms *o* may alternate qualitatively with *e* (for the writer's view of the aspectual reason for this alternation, see his *Foundations of Language* [New York, 1939], pp. 66-67, 213).

⁴ H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, I (Leipzig, 1897), p. 468; A. Meillet, *Esquisse d'une grammaire comparée de l'arménien classique*, 2nd ed. (Vienna, 1936), p. 31; E. Lidén, *Armenische Studien* (Göteborg, 1906), p. 24; for another interpretation of *hoviw* see H. Pedersen, in *KZ*, XXXVIII (1902), pp. 198-199.

⁵ Cf. S. Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, 3rd ed. (Leiden, 1939), p. 70^a.

⁶ The traditional accent is correct (as in *κοῖτος* "slumber" from the base **ke/oie-*), since the normal grade bears the accent (*φοῖτος* < **fóitos*). The Hesychian glosses *θα καὶ μηλωτή (ὅς δὲ τὸ πρόβατον) καὶ ἡ σὺν τοῖς ἐρίοις δορά. ἡ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἱματίοις ψα* and *δέα· μηλωτή* do not belong to the group of *ōis*, but come from the base **ḡeue-* "put on (clothing, etc.)" (cf. Walde-Pokorny, I, 109-110).

⁷ For this type of infixation cf. the writer's forthcoming study on the Indo-European base **do-*, **do-ie-*, **do-ye-*, **do-ḡe-* "give."

appears as * $\lambda\acute{o}\lambda\upsilon\iota$ - > * $\acute{o}\lambda\iota$ - in Sanskrit *āvi-ka*- "relating to sheep" and Greek $\phi\alpha$ < * $\omega\phi\iota\text{-}\bar{a}$ "sheepskin (garment) with the wool on."

The ZN grade * $\lambda\acute{o}\iota$ - seen in *foīra* would appear to be a qualitative gradation of what Walde-Pokorny⁸ regard as an independent base * $\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ - "turn, bend," occurring, for our purposes, in the NZ grade * $\lambda\epsilon\iota$ - in Sanskrit *váyati* "weaves" and *vema*- "loom," and in the RZ grade * $\lambda\epsilon\iota$ - in Sanskrit *vaya*- "weaver" (cf. Vedic *vayī* "female weaver"). The simple base * $\lambda\epsilon$ - is seen in the Z grade * u - in Sanskrit *utá* < * $u\text{-}t\acute{o}$ "woven"; the extension * $\lambda\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\epsilon$ - appears in the NZ grade * $\lambda\epsilon\lambda$ - > * $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}$ - in Sanskrit *vá-tave* "to weave"; and * $e/o\lambda\epsilon$ - in the NZ grade * $e/o\lambda$ in Sanskrit *ó-tave* "to weave" and in the RZ grade * $e\text{-}u\text{-}t\acute{o}$ > * $\bar{u}\text{-}t\acute{o}$ - in Sanskrit *ūta*- "woven."

The ultimate base of the entire group would seem to have been * $\lambda\omicron\lambda\epsilon$ -, with the extensions * $\lambda\omicron\lambda\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\epsilon$ -, * $\lambda\omicron\lambda\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\epsilon$ -, * $\lambda\omicron\lambda\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\epsilon$ -, and * $\lambda\omicron\text{-}\lambda\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\epsilon$ -, and with the semantic development "turn, bend" > "turn or bend wool" = "spin," so that *ois* "sheep" and its cognates were originally regarded as "the woolly animal."

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NOTE ON PLATO, LAWS 722 c 1.

οὐ γὰρ πειθοῖ κεραννύντες τὴν †μάχην νομοθετοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἀκράτῳ μόνον τῇ βίᾳ.

μάχην] ἀρχὴν ci. Stallbaum ἀνάγκην Ast (Burnet's text)

For μάχην I suggest the reading τάξιν.

This sentence comes in a speech of the Athenian near the end of Book IV. He has been giving his view that the lawgiver should include in the statement of the law persuasive reasoning for its observance as well as penalties if it is violated; as a liberal physician gives his patient reasons for taking the prescribed treatment and does not just brusquely order him to do so-and-so in the way of an ill-trained quack treating slaves. The corrupt μάχην is the reading of all the MSS. Most editors

⁸ I, 223-227.

and translators note the difficulty but no emendation has so far won unanimous approval.

Professor Taylor,¹ the author of the most recent translation into English, reads ἀρχὴν "for purposes of translation"² and renders "authority." But surely the uses of ἀρχή suggest political administration or general "sovereignty" or "empire" rather than the statement of the terms of a law, which must be the sense required here. Bury's³ "compulsion" (from ἀνάγκη) makes the second clause superfluous. It seems implausible to find in κεραννύντες τὴν μάχην a latent quotation from a poet, as England⁴ suggests must be done if μάχην is sound.

The proposed reading, τάξιν, seems to give the required sense, the double sense of the English word "order." This "order" may combine with both "persuasion" and "compulsion" and yet is somehow neither. The language of the pages immediately surrounding 722 c hint at τάξιν: in the analogy of the two kinds of physicians (720 b-e), at 720 c προστάξας δ' αὐτῶ, 720 d ἐπέταξεν, 721 a κατακοσμήσει ταῖς τάξεσιν, 723 a τὴν ἐπίταξιν, ὃ δὴ ἐστὶν ὁ νόμος. The precise sense of the word, if read here, is paralleled at *Laws* 925 b κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ νόμου, and *Politicus* 305 c παρὰ τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου τάξιν.

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¹ *The Laws of Plato*, translated into English by A. E. Taylor (London, 1934).

² P. 106, n. 1.

³ R. G. Bury, *Plato, Laws* (Loeb Classical Library, London and New York, 1926).

⁴ E. B. England, *The Laws of Plato* (London, 1921).

REVIEWS.

SHERMAN LEROY WALLACE. *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*. Princeton, University Press, 1938. Pp. ix + 512.

On the dust-jacket the publishers announce this book as "the first attempt, since publication of Wilcken's *Griechische Ostraka*, Vol. I, in 1898, to give a comprehensive survey of the taxation of the Roman province of Egypt." The statement is true enough and can only redound to the credit of the author; the publishers had surely not the intention of encouraging reviewers to judge Wallace's book in the light of Wilcken's epochal achievement. No man of our generation has been able to meet the German master on his own ground. Wilcken possesses in a supreme degree the faculty of logical analysis, and his writing is characterized by simplicity and clarity. Wallace, like myself and others, possesses these virtues in a lesser degree, but he has given us a new survey which deserves and will have a career of its own. The volume makes a great mass of material accessible to specialist and non-specialist alike. Wallace occasionally permits himself grave logical deviations in textual analysis and in historical argumentation and allows himself divergent views on the same subject at different times, as if the book had not been subjected to a final critical reading. Wallace's suggestions now and again suffer from lack of attention to palaeographic canons. To these defects other reviewers¹ have directed attention, but the fact remains that we now have, through Wallace's efforts, a comprehensive handbook of an incredibly thorny field. Wallace is probably the only scholar whose studies have covered the whole ground of taxation in Roman Egypt, and his book is literally a mine of information. The magnitude of his achievement in converting thousands of minutiae into a coherent sketch of Egyptian

¹ Westermann, *American Historical Review*, XLIV (1938), pp. 79-83, has reviewed the logical deficiencies of Wallace's work in such manner as to minimize involuntarily his positive contribution; Miss Préaux, *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXVI (1938), pp. 421-427, has sinned agreeably in the other direction. Both reviews are well worth reading along with others written by Lewis, *Classical Weekly*, XXXII (1938), pp. 76-77; Bell, *Gnomon*, XV (1939), pp. 248-253; Ensslin, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, LIX (1939), pp. 785-792; and Rostovtzeff, *A. J. A.*, XLIV (1940), pp. 414-415, who hold the balance more evenly between praise and blame while making interesting contributions in matters of detail. To the published criticisms I shall add just a few methodological observations. Much that Wallace has tried to give in a *texte suivi* would be more readily intelligible and useful in tabular form. Further, as with most handbooks, the countless references to papyri and ostraca and the abundant bibliography ought not to be used for serious purposes without verification. Also, the line between fact and fancy must be sharply drawn. Wallace is overfond of conjectural reconstruction, and in consequence the volume bristles with hypotheses. Occasionally he will spin a thread of guesswork for the pure pleasure of breaking it. At the same time, the kind of critical work of which Wallace is capable when he remains within the circle of concrete evidence (e.g., p. 456, n. 53) is not to be surpassed.

taxation comes home with striking force to anyone who works with the book from day to day and ends by discovering that he cannot work without it.

The blurb on the dust-jacket goes on to recommend the book as "a guide and inspiration to legislators and statesmen who, lacking the inventive ingenuity of the Greek and the firm grasp of the Roman, are sometimes slow in finding the vastly increased revenues demanded by modern governments." Legislators and statesmen could do worse than to study Wallace's well-documented treatise on Egyptian taxation, but it would be a serious blunder to draw inspiration for modern needs from the economy of the Romans in Egypt.² A careful reading of Wallace leaves no doubt that Roman imperialism and western democracy are worlds apart. Egypt was for Rome a conquered country, and taxes were the spoils of conquest. The country must feed itself and feed Rome as well. For us taxation is still, in principle, intended to defray the expenses of government and of public improvements. Other differences, also, are easy to see. We function largely on a money economy; ancient Egypt had no coinage of its own before the Ptolemies and throughout Roman times operated on a double economy employing agricultural products as well as money. In addition to this broad distinction, concepts within the realm of taxation, e. g. property-tax³ and income-tax,⁴ necessarily differ from the ancient to the modern world because the objects taxed are variously defined in the two periods. A thoroughly vicious trend, which came to dominate taxation in Egypt and was to a great extent responsible for the semi-feudal development of Byzantine Egypt, led from the system of liturgies, or compulsory public service, to the principle of collective responsibility of the village, the guild, and later the metropolitan senate to the fiscus. No surer way than this of exhausting the productive powers of a community is known. From a close study of the Roman exploitation of Egypt our legislators might learn what not to do when the democracy is functioning normally and what to do grudgingly and under the most rigid control when the machinery has broken down.

Since the Egyptians lived under a double economy, Wallace's book falls roughly into two parts: taxes paid in kind and taxes paid in money. A description of the cadastre in Chap. I provides a summary of land categories and their administration which is indispensable to understanding the principal tax collected *in natura*, bearing chiefly on grain land and hence paid largely in grains, the land tax *par excellence*, of which the incidence and rates are analyzed in Chap. II. The third chapter discusses briefly other obligations in kind, of which the *ἐπιβολή*, the *ἐπιμερισμός*, and the *annona* are perhaps the most significant. This section of the book closes with an investigation of the administrative machinery for the collection of the grain tax. In this connection the author discusses the transport charges *δραγματηγία* (to the threshing-floor), *σακκηγία* (to the granary), and *φόρετρον* (to the harbor).

² This is equally the opinion of Miss Préaux, *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXVI, pp. 426 f., whose judgment in matters of this kind is extraordinarily keen.

³ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 385, n. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 388, n. 44.

The economic bearing of the discussion appears when the distinction between taxes and rents is maintained, the former resting on "private" land, i. e., to a great extent, *catoecic* and *cleruchic* land, the latter on royal domain, which was leased to cultivators officially designated βασιλικοὶ and δημόσιοι γεωργοί. The average rent far exceeded the rate of taxation, and here can be traced the influence of political ideas on the economic system. *Catoecic* land was in the hands of Greeks and Graeco-Egyptians, a cultural class of some wealth which was deliberately favored by the government as a protective measure against the "unruly" Egyptians. The burden of the fiscal policy lay heavily on the lower class, the unhellenized Egyptians with no land of their own. In time, when the poor could not be made poorer, the system of liturgies and the principle of collective responsibility began the exhaustion of the middle class.

Wallace passes from land taxes paid in kind to those paid in money (Chap. V), and this is in great measure equivalent to passing from a consideration of charges on grain land to those on orchards and vineyards. The important group of taxes in this connection comprises ἀπόμοιρα, under the Ptolemies a percentage of the yield dedicated to the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphus, but converted in Roman times into a fixed charge per aroura; παραγωγή ἐλαίας, a transport tax; ναύβιον, an equivalent of labor on the dikes and canals; ἐπαρούριον, a simple charge, as its name implies, of so much per aroura, which may be regarded as a true land tax; γεωμετρία, the purpose of which has been in dispute, but which was probably intended to cover the expenses of the survey periodically undertaken by reason of the Nile inundation; and ὀκτάδραχμος σπονδὴ Διονύσου, a tax of 8 drachmas plus an extra charge, the name of which points to a religious origin. These are regularly exacted at higher rates from vineyards than from orchards, with the exception of the last, which is applicable only to vineyards. The ὀκτάδραχμος σπονδὴ Διονύσου has recently been the subject of fruitful discussion by Sam Eitrem, *Symbolae Osloenses*, XVII (1937), pp. 27-41, and by Wallace himself, *P. A. P. A.*, LXIX (1938), pp. xlix f. Under the heading φόροι (pp. 71 f.) are presented, among others, charges on orchards, vineyards, pastures, and fisheries, which are properly rents, and not what we usually designate as taxes.

Wallace has done perhaps more than anyone else to clarify the meaning of φόρος, and he reaps the profit of his labor in his analysis of taxes on animals (Chap. VI), where he is enabled to make a clear and certain distinction between ἐννόμιον, a license tax involving the privilege of pasture on public land, and φόρος προβάτων, rent for lease of government sheep. He effectively eliminates Miss Avogadro's thesis (*Aegyptus*, XIV [1934], pp. 293-297) that φόρος προβάτων was a property tax on privately owned sheep. This is most interesting because it would appear that the growth of private ownership in animals ran parallel with the same development in land. Chapter VI continues with a careful and shrewd presentation of taxes on sheep, camels, donkeys, horses, and pigs.

With Chapter VII, which describes the operation and purpose of the census, we turn from taxes incident on the possession of land to such as bear on persons and classes. Wallace refers briefly to his thesis that the institution of both the census and the poll tax goes

back to the reign of Philopator.⁵ This view, which makes too great a use of the *argumentum a silentio*, has been the subject of a penetrating critique by Mlle. Claire Préaux.⁶ The fundamental fact, however, that the census served as a basis for the collection of personal taxes, and principally the poll tax (Chap. VIII), is secure. The poll tax was collected from every male Egyptian or Greek, between the ages of fourteen and sixty-two.⁷ Exemption was granted to certain members of the bureaucracy, a restricted number of priests, victors in the athletic games, citizens of Alexandria, and scholars in the Alexandrian museum. Wallace makes out a good argument for the rejection of the view that holders of catœcic land were exempt from poll tax.⁸ The Egyptian population of the Fayûm, on whose shoulders rested the heaviest burden of taxation, paid an annual sum of 40 dr. plus other charges, or a total of 44 dr.; the privileged citizens of the nome-capital, largely Greeks or Graeco-Egyptians, paid 20 dr. At Thebes in Upper Egypt the common rates appear to have been 10 dr. and 24 dr. Wallace tries to draw a parallel between these and the two rates of the Fayûm, and although his argument deserves serious consideration, it seems to me to brush aside too lightly Milne's evidence of still higher rates. With respect to the relation of poll tax and *syntaximon*, Wallace has wisely followed Keyes in his identification of the latter with poll tax at its highest rate in the Fayûm.

The poll tax was a *μερισμός*, an assessment, a distributed tax, in the sense that it rested equally on the members of the same class within a given community. Other important *μερισμοί* (Chap. IX) were collected to cover the deficit caused by the absence of villagers who had fled to the desert or the city to escape the ruinous impositions of the fiscus, to defray the expenses of construction and repair of dikes and canals, to provide salaries for the police, to maintain the public baths. These do not exhaust the list, but they are the most common and their significance is far reaching both economically and politically. Exception might be taken to Wallace's contention that the pig tax was levied as a *μερισμός* on the whole native population of the Fayûm. Granted that it was so levied at Theadelphia in

⁵ Developed at length in his "Census and Poll-Tax under the Ptolemies," *A. J. P.*, LIX (1938), pp. 418-442.

⁶ *L'Économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels, 1939), pp. 385 f.: "L'hypothèse de M. Wallace établit une relation logique entre certains faits: mais, en histoire, il ne suffit pas qu'une hypothèse soit agencée rationnellement pour qu'elle corresponde à la vérité; car nous ne sommes pas en possession de tous les éléments d'un problème et il arrive même ainsi que le problème que nous suscitons n'ait jamais existé. Comme M. Wallace le reconnaît, aucun argument positif ne soutient sa démonstration."

⁷ Sixty years used to be regarded as the age of exemption. Wallace's contention, based on new evidence, receives at least negative confirmation from *P. Mich.* IV, in which a certain Priscus declares himself to be sixty years of age (?) in the 12th yr. of Marcus Aurelius and continues to pay poll tax through the following two years. A table of his payments is given in *P. Mich.* IV, pt. 2, p. 85.

⁸ I hope later to adduce the evidence of *P. Mich.* IV in support of Wallace's conclusion. For the present it will suffice to cite *P. Mich.*, IV, No. 224, 3851, 5079, 6010.

the first century A. D., as the Columbia papyri seem to show, the same situation cannot be demonstrated for Karanis in the second century from the very extensive tax rolls found there. Among the guard taxes Wallace lists a φύλ(ακτρον) ἀπόρων, which he supposes was used to support a kind of "debtor's prison." The tenor of the papyrus from which the words are cited makes it easier to believe that they refer to a subdivision of the μερισμὸς ἀπόρων intended to make good the deficit in the collections of guard taxes caused by the inability of certain villagers to meet their obligations.

In addition to personal taxes which had a more or less general application, there were others affecting smaller groups (Chap. X). From the time of Vespasian the Jews of Egypt paid the temple tax into the treasury of Jupiter Capitolinus under the name Ἰουδαίων or Ἰουδαϊκὸν τέλοςμα. Along with this they paid a tax called ἀπαρχή. More significant because more germane to the state economy are the ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων and the ἀριθμητικὸν φυλακιδῶν, seemingly intended to discharge the cost of maintaining the records of catœcic and phylacitic holdings. Considerable light has lately been thrown on the periodicity of the ἀ. κατοίκων and the nature of the ἡμιτέλειον ἀριθμητικόν by Wallace himself in *P. A. P. A.*, LXIX (1938), pp. xlix f.⁹

State monopolies developed by the Ptolemies and maintained by the Caesars reveal an interesting phenomenon in the domain of taxation, the consumers' tax (Chap. XI). This had no connection with the purchase of the commodities in question, but was assessed in the manner of a μερισμὸς on the entire population. Such a tax is known for the salt, beer, and bath monopolies, but is not attested for the oil monopoly, which in Ptolemaic times had been the most important of all. In the free trades it is reasonably certain that no one escaped payment of a license-tax on trades (Chap. XII). The list of these is long, and they must have been a primary source of revenue. However, Chap. XII is, from the reader's point of view, perhaps the least satisfactory part of the book because the evidence is very conflicting. Intelligibility and interest revive in the following chapter, which concludes the section on trades. Wallace again tackles the problems of the *anabolicum* on glass, papyrus, linen, and hemp. The *anabolicum* was, in his opinion, a special levy to help finance military expeditions, by contrast with the military *annona* which provided supplies for legions stationed in Egypt. Taxes on sales and transfers are perhaps the most significant of the others discussed in this chapter.

Two substantial chapters (XIV and XV) on priestly dues and customs provide far-reaching insights into the Roman economy in Egypt. The power of the priests had been much curtailed since Ptolemaic times. Their lands had been largely confiscated; their hierarchy and finances placed under lay supervision; their exemption from poll tax seriously reduced. They were in some measure compensated by government subventions, but they were made to discharge the expenses of the new organization through payment of

⁹ Only an abstract has been published. Wallace's conclusions are important, and he ought not to delay unduly the publication of his article.

the ἐπιστάτικόν, credited to the salary of an ἐπιστάτης not of their own choosing; the εἰσκριτικόν, a kind of license-tax for the exercise of priestly functions; and the γερῶν, a fee for receiving the perquisites of office. The customs fell into three classes and tend to reveal the persistence of sectional separatism within Egypt despite the century-old union of Upper and Lower Egypt under a single crown. Internal customs were levied at Hermopolis, the dividing line between Upper and Middle Egypt, and again at Memphis on the way to the Delta. The nomes, in turn, protected local interest by the imposition of a tariff on imports and exports. The best known of this class of local customs is the 3% levy collected in the villages on the northern border of the Fayûm. Foreign trade from and to the East through the ports on the Red Sea or Pelusium and from and to the West through Alexandria was assessed on an *ad valorem* basis, but very little is known regarding the rates. The income, however, must have been considerable since one of the chief routes from the East terminated at the Red Sea, where goods were transferred to camels and transported to Coptos on the Nile for shipment to Alexandria and thence to Rome.

Of the miscellaneous taxes briefly described in Chapter XVI, the στεφανικόν is by far the most important. The original custom of presenting a gold crown to the ruler on his accession was in time transmuted into a money payment, the *aurum coronarium*. From a purely occasional assessment it was converted into an annual tax. In the third century it became a source of abuse in the hands of emperors who were not content with the annual collection but imposed a special crown tax from time to time on the slightest excuse.

The penultimate chapter examines the mechanism of collection of money taxes. The intricate and often doubtful interrelations of the various agencies of collection—banks, practors, publicans, supervisors, village elders, municipal senates, decemprimi—are carefully considered with the necessary distinctions of place and time. I continue to be uneasy with regard to the emphasis which Wallace puts on payments made by taxpayers directly to the bank. The receipts show that bankers were in a real sense collectors of taxes, and their activity is especially noticeable in the first century before the creation under Trajan of the πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν, but all that we know of Egyptian life under Roman domination makes incredible the thesis that any great number of Egyptians were in the habit of taking a stroll down to the bank to discharge their legal obligations to a foreign power.¹⁰

Under the heading "Surtaxes" Wallace makes a valuable contribution to the technical literature on the προσδιαγραφόμενα which are regularly collected with taxes. The usual rates of extra charges on silver payments was 1/16, but other rates are found, e. g., 1/13, 1/7, and 1/5, especially with copper payments. The treatment of the extra charges is not uniform. Sometimes, it is not specified but included in the principal, which may or may not be qualified by the word ὀνπαρός. In other cases the extra charge is not mentioned at all because its rate is fixed and its payment may be assumed. When principal and προσδιαγραφόμενα are indicated, the latter may include

¹⁰ I hope to examine this question at length in *P. Mich.* IV, pt. 3.

other charges like the *συμβολικόν*. The purpose of the *προσδιαγραφόμενα* is still in dispute; Wallace mentions the possibilities. His analysis of extra charges on dike tax has gone astray through failure to take account of evidence in the Columbia, Berlin, and Michigan papyri. My own analysis has recently appeared in *T. A. P. A.*, LXIX (1938), p. 82.

In a final chapter Wallace reviews the literary evidence for the revenues contributed by Egypt to Roman coffers and compares it with the actuality as revealed by the papyri. He concludes with a rapid survey of the evolution of the system of taxation from the first to the third centuries. A brief appendix lists a number of unidentified taxes, and a compact mass of notes (pp. 356-493), hardly less important than the text which they illustrate, places a rich documentation at the disposal of other students in this field. Two indices of words pertaining to taxation, one Greek, the other English and Latin, close the book. Anyone who must henceforth use Wallace's "Taxation" will regret daily the absence of an index of papyri that have received critical treatment.¹¹

A few remarks on matters of detail may not come amiss. Pp. 28, 302: Correct *βαλανικόν* to *βαλανευτικόν*, the correct form which Wallace uses elsewhere; cf. Claire Préaux, *Chronique d'Égypte*, XVII, pp. 128 ff. P. 37: For a *σιτομέτρης* who was also a *σακκοφόρος* see *P. Mich.*, IV, 223, 2132; 224, 5948; 225, 1990. Pp. 44, 62: For *ναῦ(λον) φο(ρέτρου)* read *ναῦ(λον) φο(ρτίων)*, which makes an intelligible combination; see *Berichtigungsliste*. Pp. 59, 61: According to Hombert's reading of the gnomon, cultivators of royal domain paid *ναύβιον* and *ἐπαρούριον*. This is strange, and it is curious that the passage in the gnomon would suit admirably the payments due on reed-land, which is found in close association with vineyards; cf. *B. G. U.*, IX, p. 117. P. 61: The exemption from *ναύβιον* which Wallace posits for *ἱερά γῆ* is not sustained by *B. G. U.*, IX, 1896, 102, etc. Pp. 62-63: From *B. G. U.*, IX, 1897, 1 and 171, I deduce the existence of a *δωδεκάδραχμος σπονδῆς Διονύσου*.¹² P. 92: In the interests of accuracy I may observe that 5 dr. plus an extra charge of 2 ob. is the amount charged for *πενταδραχμία ὄνων* at Karanis. The amount paid, after all additions, is 4 dr. 14 ob., i. e. 6 dr. on the scale 7 ob. = 1 dr., and this establishes identity with the *ἑξαδραχμία* at Oxyrhynchus. Correct PO. XII. 1457 to 1438. P. 99: Correct *ἐνοικίων* to *ἐνοίκων*. P. 119: "If there was any logical system of taxation in Egypt it follows that, if the sons of the slaves of catocci paid a poll-tax, the catocci also paid the tax." Insistence on the logical principle may lead to grave difficulties. Women did not pay poll tax, but slaves belonging to women were not exempt at Karanis in the second century A. D. See, e. g., *P. Mich.*, IV, No. 223, 101, 676, 2230. Similarly, Roman citizens were exempt from this tax, and yet in the Michigan tax rolls it is collected from Germanus and

¹¹ Such an index has been prepared and deposited in manuscript in the University of Michigan Library with the following title: S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, etc. Supplementary Indexes compiled by H. C. Youtie and F. G. Pray. Students of taxation may be interested to know that Greek indexes of *O. Tait*, compiled by Youtie and Pray, are also available at the Michigan Library.

¹² *C. P.*, XXXIII (1938), p. 425.

Nicephorus, slaves of Longinus Isidorus. P. 120: Among persons with official connections enjoying exemption from poll tax may be reckoned the water guard at Karanis cited for payment of guard taxes in *P. Mich.*, IV, e.g., No. 224, 1195, and the sailor-divers attached to the irrigation department in the Arsinoite nome (*P. Mich.*, III, 174). P. 129: Wilcken's receipts from Ophi for the second century begin with A.D. 133-134. P. 130: Wallace's rejection of Milne's evidence for higher rates of poll tax than 24 dr. at Memnonia on the ground that his receipts probably contain arrears or payments for the following year, is weak. Wallace's illustration of his notion that the receipts in question may include payments on a second year, is not convincing. I do not believe that *O. Strassb.*, 103 and 105, e.g., have the structure which he claims for them. P. 144: "The only exception to this rate is found in the great tax-rolls from Caranis in the collection of the University of Michigan, where the ὕκῃ is everywhere recorded as 5 obols 2 chalc, and this may indicate a local or temporary variation . . ." *P. Mich.*, IV, Pts. 1 and 2, contains a total of only four payments of pig tax; Wallace's "everywhere" is misleading. Another example of pig tax at the same rate is to be found in *P. Columbia*, 1 recto 3, vii, 23. The true explanation of the reduced rate for the Michigan as well as the Columbia rolls is given by Westermann and Keyes in their introduction to *P. Columbia*, 1 recto 3, p. 83. The taxpayer had died before the expiration of the year. P. 148: For the distinction between φυλάκων and στατίωνος see *B. G. U.*, IX, p. 8. P. 153: ναυλοδόκοι are here defined as "receivers of ships," which represents a total misunderstanding. ναυλοδόκοι are collectors of freight-charges. P. 155: Here and elsewhere Wallace equates ὀνπαραι δραχμαί with billon coinage. This definition must be dropped in favor of Milne's sound theory that a sum so marked includes προσδιαγραφόμενα, a view which Wallace accepts on p. 324. Pp. 164 f.: Wallace rightly rejects the distinction proposed by the editors of *P. Rylands* between μερισμὸς ὀνίων and μερισμὸς ἐνλείμματος τελωνικῶν but his argument needs the philological support provided by the editor of *O. Wilbour*, 21. P. 183: For *P. Mich. Car.* read *P. Mich. Tebt.* P. 192: *P. S. I.*, VIII, 871 does not concern a change of residence; it is simply a registration of an apprentice. See *P. Mich.*, III, 170 introd. P. 192: Despite the decision of Vibius Maximus recorded in *S. B.*, 5678 (Oxyrhynchus, 118 A.D.), the language of *P. Mich.*, III, 172, and *O. Wilbour*, 31 show that in Oxyrhynchus in 62 A.D. and in Upper Egypt in 128 A.D. minor apprentices were paying a trade tax. This is also the only reasonable interpretation of *P. Oxy.*, II, 275 (66 A.D.) and XIV, 1647 (late 2nd cent.), which are cited by Wallace. P. 210: Wallace infers from Wilcken, *Gr. Ostr.*, 83 that the tax on courtesans at Elephantine was assessed on an annual basis. This view derives considerable support from *O. Wilbour*, 33, also from Elephantine, where a distinction seems to be made between χειρωναξίον μηνιαῖον and ἐταιρικόν. P. 237: On χαρτηρά see also *A. J. P.*, LVII (1936), pp. 219 f. P. 268: The statement that "the ἐπιστρατηγία of the Heptanomia and Arsinoite nome was not established until the Roman period," is true so far as present knowledge goes, but it needs to be qualified by the new light shed on the ἐπιστρατηγία in *P. Tebt.*, III, 778 = 895. Cf. Hunt's introduction, and Skeat in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, XII (1936), pp. 40-43. P. 308: The ἐπιτηρητής λεσωνείας does not belong among

collectors of trade taxes unless "trade" is defined with exceptional latitude; the *λεσωνεία* is an important priestly office. See Wallace, pp. 252; 459, n. 80. P. 318: The supposed imperative *ζή(τη)* has been borrowed from P. Princeton, but surely *ζή(ται)*, *ζή(τησον)*, or *ζή(τητέον)* is intended. P. 322: The most recent discussion of the edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander is by H. I. Bell in *J. R. S.*, XXVIII (1938), pp. 1 ff. P. 323: Reinmuth's "unpublished" papyrus is published and discussed at length by Reinmuth in *C. P.*, XXXI (1936), pp. 146 ff. Kase's text of the same papyrus is in *P. Princeton*, II, 20. Pp. 355 and 391, n. 76: *τοκ() τυ() ὑπ(ερ?)* in *P. Tebt.*, II, 358 suggests *τόκ(ου) τι(μῆς) ὑπ(αρχόντων)* as in *P. Mich.*, IV, no. 224, 4857, 5958. P. 356: To the general bibliography add N. Hohlwein, "Le Blé d'Égypte," *Études de papyrologie*, IV (1938), pp. 33-120. P. 357, n. 29: Add A. Déléage, "Les Cadastres antiques," *Ét. de pap.*, II (1934), pp. 111-147. P. 371, n. 42: On the *δεκάπρωτοι* see also Turner in *J. E. A.*, XXII (1936), pp. 7-19. P. 371, n. 43: Add *B. G. U.*, IX, 1893. P. 418, n. 13: On the *μερισμὸς ἀνακεχωρηκότων* see also Lewis in *J. E. A.*, XXIII (1937), pp. 63-75. P. 423: The statement that guard taxes are recorded in the Michigan rolls for only 10 men "over 65 years of age" is surprising. I do not know what authority Wallace has for putting their age over 65. P. 428, n. 1: Add Manteuffel in *Actes du 5^e Congrès international de Papyrologie*, pp. 255-257. The texts mentioned by Manteuffel have been published in *P. Edfu*, which I have not yet seen. P. 432, n. 5: Very important is Boak's "An Ordinance of the Salt Merchants," *A. J. P.*, LVIII (1937), pp. 210-219. P. 436: Wallace conjectures that the constantly recurring *χ()* in *P. Mich.*, IV may be *χειρονάξιον* of the weavers, but it is impossible to believe that the whole body of taxpayers responsible for payment of poll tax was composed of weavers. Pp. 458 f.: To the bibliography on *ἐπιστατικὸν ἱερέων* add P. Fuad Inv. 189 (*Ét. de pap.*, IV, 203 = *P. Fuad*, I, 14). Pp. 462 ff.: To the lists of customs receipts add A. E. R. Boak, *Soknopaiou Nesos*, Univ. Mich. Studies, Hum. Series, XXXIX, Chap. II; *P. Aberdeen*, 37-44.

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Menandri Quae Supersunt. Pars Prior: Reliquiae in Papyris et Membranis Vetustissimis Servatae. Tertium edidit ALFREDUS KOERTE. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1938. Pp. lxxviii + 150. RM. 7.60 (bound).

The present volume, which constitutes the first of a complete edition of Menander in two volumes, adds only two papyri to those found in the well-known edition of Jensen (1929). One contains a fragment of the *Theophroroumene*, the other, scraps from the *Georgos*. This new edition is important, however, not only on account of these minor additions, but also because the text of all the fragments has been revised. Körte's revision, however, was completed and the type set before he discovered the important work of

Octave Guéraud on the Cairo papyrus.¹ This was published in 1928, even before the edition of Jensen, and it is very unfortunate that Körte was satisfied by merely inserting in the critical apparatus the more certain of Guéraud's readings. Thus in *Epit.* 405, Körte still reads *δοκείν*, as he did in his first and second editions, though Guéraud, as Körte remarks in his critical notes, says that this cannot be the reading here. This instance is not an isolated one but is typical of many readings which Körte's text contains, and it seems unfortunate that a new text has been published without a thorough reëxamination of the papyrus in the light of the findings of Guéraud and the necessary revision of the text. In general, this third edition of Körte is probably the best text of Menander, though one may occasionally prefer the reading or line assignment of Jensen or some earlier editor. The second volume of this edition of Menander with a complete word index will be eagerly awaited. We can only wish that the author might be persuaded to publish a commentary on the longer fragments.

A few mechanical features may be noticed. The volume is published in a slightly larger format than the standard Bibliotheca Teubneriana and is printed in the same pleasing type font as Körte's previous editions. Facility in referring to the very useful introduction would have been aided by placing the name of the play or subject under consideration at the top of each odd page instead of the useless "praefatio" which appears there. It has been necessary again to change the numbering of the *Epitrepontes*, and even the editor has occasionally become confused in his references.² More serious is a certain inconsistency in the printing of the text itself. We assume that the author is producing a composite text. He does so where two papyri are extant for the same lines (*Epit.* 560-81, etc.). Further, notae personae, though usually in parentheses, are printed in capital letters in the text when there are notae in the margin (e.g., *Epit.* 334-35), and such marginalia are not printed in the text at all if the editor considers them incorrect (e.g., *Epit.* 193), although even in a composite text we should expect these to be included, placed, perhaps, in double square brackets to indicate the editor's rejection of them.³ At other times, however,

¹ Octave Guéraud, "Quelques notes sur le papyrus de Ménandre." *Bull. de l'Institut. Fran. d'Archéol. Orient.*, XXVII (1928), pp. 127 ff. Körte includes fifteen lines of a prologue found in the *Papyrus Didotiana*, which are not included in Jensen.

² On page XIII most of the references are according to the new numbering of the present edition, but the references to *Epit.* 21 (new, 62) and 332 (new, 373) are according to the old numbering, which is conveniently included on the right margin in parentheses. All references to the *Epitrepontes* in this review are according to Körte's new numbering, which begins with the *Membranae Petropolitanae*, thus adding 41 to all numbers up to vs. 468 old (509 new). Fragment Z is then added in, consisting of 23 verses. Thus 64 is added to old numbers from 469 to 610, where two groups of six lines each are added, so that from 611 old to 625 old, 70 is added, and from 626 old to the end of the play, 76 is added.

³ According to the editor's system, the nota at *Epit.* 439 should be in capitals (perhaps in the middle of the line; cf. praef., p. XIII); so at vs. 488, with no parentheses.

the text appears to be an apograph of one papyrus (although, of course, corrections are freely introduced). Thus in *Epit.* 501-02, certain words and letters are bracketed as if mere conjectures like the vast majority of letters thus enclosed, whereas these words and letters are actually taken from fragment 177 Kock. An extreme case is found in *Georgos* 129-133, where whole lines are thus bracketed. Although the situation is explained in the notes, it would seem more consistent to print without brackets all words for which there is any MS authority and describe the lacunae of the papyri in the critical notes, or perhaps it would be more desirable to use very thin lines to distinguish between MS and papyrus (cf. Körte's text of *Epit.* 614-23), or possibly square half brackets might be so used. The insertion of the dramatis personae printed in the Latin alphabet, as in Körte's previous editions, is very welcome, but it would seem advisable to print in the Latin alphabet (rather than in smaller Greek letters) scene headings, also, in order that it may be obvious that these are not in the papyrus. How deceptive or at least puzzling this practice of both Jensen and Körte becomes, may be observed at the opening of the *Heros*, where only the size of the Greek type in Körte's edition distinguishes the inserted scene heading from the immediately preceding dramatis personae (here in the papyrus). In the editions of both Sudhaus and Jensen, there is no distinction here whatever.

Adequate discussion of the text itself is impossible without at least a photographic reproduction of the papyri, which has not been available to the present reviewer. In scores of line assignments and perhaps hundreds of restorations, Körte differs from Jensen. We may note a few examples of these. There are five different line assignments in *Epit.* 1-41 (*Membranae Petropolitanae*). The assignment of the latter part of *Epit.* 7 to Smierines seems to do violence to the sense, but Körte following Hütloff thinks the spacing and punctuation (one point) of the MS indicate a change of speakers. But this MS (reproduced as the frontispiece in the edition of Capps) contains a beautiful example of one point and space after *λελόγισται* in *Epit.* 14. This fact is not mentioned in Körte's apparatus, but, to the present reviewer, it is sufficient to prove that such punctuation in this MS does not necessarily indicate a change of speakers (but cf. *Epit.* 17), for certainly no editor could allow a change of speakers after this word in *Epit.* 14. In short, Hütloff and Körte are obviously unjustified in changing speakers in the latter part of *Epit.* 7. Again, in *Perikeiromene* 229-30, Körte's assignment of part of these lines to Polemon seems to do violence to the sense in view of verse 231, and the lack of a connective is no objection to considering this a continuation of Sosias' speech, since asyndeton is a marked characteristic of his angry speeches in this scene (cf. *Peri.* 217-18; 228-29). Here again the presence of a double point in the papyrus is cited as justification of the change of speakers. Just how important this punctuation is in the papyri one cannot discover from the discussion of punctuation in the praefatio, pp. XII-XIII, and the case in the MS of *Epit.* 7 leads one to suspect that a re-examination of the papyri, also, with special attention to punctuation and change of speakers might be profitable, especially since there are still so many uncertainties in regard to line assignments.

The reviewer is still of the opinion that *Peri.* 171, etc., should be assigned to Davus, not Doris. The observation of Guéraud on the uncertain nota personae opposite verse 187 corroborates this view; in fact, if correct, it removes the only justification for assigning the lines to Doris. Without repeating the arguments previously made at length, the language of the lines does not suit the rôle of Doris, who of course is on intimate terms with Sosias and Polemon (cf. *Peri.* 62-70; 207-16; 398 ff.), and whose view of the present situation is not that expressed in *Peri.* 171-75 (cf. 65-70). These lines fit the bewildered Davus precisely and only him. The oath by Apollo should be spoken by a man, and unless Davus appears from his retirement on stage, not from the house, then verses 183-84 are meaningless.

A few other minor points may be mentioned. After *Epit.* 41, it would be advisable to indicate in the text as well as in the critical apparatus that a part of the play is missing. The cacophonous τὴν δὲ τοῦδε restored in *Epit.* 163 (cf. Capps *ad hoc*) may be questioned. At least, Wilamowitz' objection to the order of τὴν αὐτοῦ does not seem justified in the light of such passages as Plato, *Sym.* 189 d, etc. In *Epit.* 302 (end), Körte follows the reading of the papyrus, which seems a distinct improvement over the emendation of Wilamowitz, whom Jensen followed. In *Epit.* 381, Körte's text is disfigured by a German comma (in the editions of Sudhaus and Jensen, but not in that of Wilamowitz or the second edition of Körte). One may question the advisability of the use of the double point in *Epit.* 618, since this punctuation is not used consistently wherever it occurs in the papyrus. The punctuation and quotation marks in *Epit.* 592 (cf. 608) seem an improvement over that of Jensen. In *Epit.* 752, a comma should be placed before Σμικρὴν. A breathing sign has been omitted in *Theophoroumene* 2.

An index to papyri included or cited in the introduction would be useful and should include recent papyri attributed to Menander, though the editor may not accept the attribution or include them in his text. At least one item (G. Manteuffel) cited in the recent report in *Jahresbericht* (CCLXIII [1939], pp. 84-91) is not included in the bibliography.

Such minor shortcomings detract little from the essential soundness of this new edition, but they do suggest that, in spite of the very good work of Körte and many others on the text of Menander during the last thirty years, there is still need of further work.

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A. H. M. JONES. *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces.* Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1937. Pp. xv + 576; 6 maps.

The purpose of this book is to trace after the manner of a historical geography the diffusion of the Greek city as a form of political organization throughout the eastern Roman provinces. This limitation in space is sound from most points of view since it would

mar the unity of the book to include the hellenistic foundations farther east, but the cities of the lower valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates could profitably have been discussed. As the title suggests, the author follows for the most part the list of the Roman provinces, breaking it only to give separate chapters to certain well-defined areas such as Lycia or to an alien stock such as the Gauls. The Greek homeland and Macedonia are of course omitted, and Thrace is the only European province included. The author begins with the first Greek settlements on the coast of Asia Minor but discusses in greatest detail the millenium from Alexander to Justinian. His method is that of a geographical survey which presents clearly and concisely the history of urbanization in each region during each period, the kings, the Republic, the Principate, and the late Empire. The whole is intended to provide the foundation for a future second volume which will analyse and appraise the internal political, social, and economic life of the cities. Upon the conclusions reached in this second volume will chiefly depend the judgment that historians will pass upon both.

Meantime the author has accomplished much in giving us a survey of the cities which is of lasting value as a reference work. I wish we had one as good available for the non-urban communities. His use of ancient sources and modern studies is thorough, apt, and critical. Sound scholarship has laid epigraphy, papyrology, numismatics, and literary sources under contribution. The notes are well-documented, if somewhat inconveniently arranged. The appendices contain valuable analyses of geographical sources and a useful set of tables. The volume has been admirably produced.

The author has had to use the word city in a very broad sense: any self-governing unit with an urban centre. But he has remained aware how different the municipalities of the Empire became from what the Greeks or even the hellenistic kings understood by a city, how non-urban many of them really were, and how limited the degree to which in many regions they changed the mode of life of the mass of the population. He has kept a sense of the wide differences that existed in the geographical conditions and historical development of the various areas, with results of special value in his chapter on Syria. His study of the development of the metropolis of the nome in Egypt is an outstanding contribution. With his conclusions regarding the time and the method of the formal urbanization of the provinces I am in agreement; those regarding its social and economic meaning cannot fairly be weighed until the second volume appears.

I am inclined to disagree with his views regarding tenure of land in Asia Minor. He holds "that all directly administered territory was the property of the crown and private ownership existed in principle only in the territories of cities or other communities," that these crown lands became public lands under Rome, and that they were gradually merged during the Principate into the imperial estates. All three of these propositions are open to modification or doubt. There is no question that crown lands and feudalized lands existed under the kings, but I know no certain evidence that tribal lands were considered crown lands, nor is it sure that "Alexander in stating that a piece of land which the Prienians claimed was his

own implies that all land not belonging to cities was his property" (p. 387, n. 28). Our evidence seems to come from the feudalized areas. I have elsewhere tried to show that there is no proof that the Romans treated crown land as public land of Rome, at least in those portions of Asia Minor that were occupied under the Republic (*T. A. P. A.*, LXV, pp. 207 ff.; cf. Frank, *J. R. S.*, XVII, pp. 141 ff.). The personal estates of the kings, which Mr. Jones does not distinguish from the crown land, and the territories confiscated in war are sufficient to account for any public land that we know. Even if we grant that the large territories given by Pompey to the Pontic cities were crown lands, there is no evidence that Pompey considered them public, nor is it sure that Rullus thought they ought to be so (p. 160). Similarly, the large territories attached to Nicaea and other Bithynian cities (p. 162) were simply attributed to them while they were held responsible for order and for the collection of the tithe. This tithe remained a separate account because, like the Bithynian population, the territory was long considered apart from the regular organization of the Greek cities. The tithe was no proof of public ownership in Asia, and public land paid both tithe and rent. Third, Mr. Jones does not allow for the immense amount of land that accrued to the imperial estates during the Principate through inheritance and confiscation, particularly under Septimius Severus, and is therefore too much inclined to see a direct connection between royal land or land that might have been public during the Republic and the early Empire and the huge imperial holdings of the late Empire. There is no proof that the estates about Ormelia were royal or public or imperial before the late Empire; in fact they were senatorial, and near them at Alastus lay the estate of a member of a native family which rose to senatorial rank, M. Calpurnius Longus (p. 76; cf. *Economic Survey*, IV, p. 673). The lands confiscated by Servilius Isauricus were probably sold or colonized (pp. 139 f.; cf. on Attaleia *T. A. P. A.*, LXVI, p. 23). Augustus probably used most of the land available in his day for his Pisidian colonies; at any rate there is a considerable lapse of time before imperial estates appear in Pisidia and Lycaonia.

The importance of this book will perhaps excuse the addition of some comments on points of detail in the chapters on Asia Minor. The tribe of the Milatae in Mysia, which the author uses frequently as an example of the urbanization of a tribe, probably never existed (pp. 36, 88, 90, 93 f., 401 n. 3; cf. Ruge, *R.-E.*, XV, 2, 1585). P. 38: the late date for which craft guilds are attested in these towns casts doubt on their importance in the civic organization in early times, see *Econ. Survey*, IV, pp. 841 ff. Pp. 57 and 77: on Larba-Sebastopolis, see L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, p. 337. P. 60: discussion of the early administration of Roman Asia should explain *O. G. I.*, 438-9, Οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κεκριμένοι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλία. P. 78: Larisa may have become the property of Artemis rather than merely a part of the territory of Ephesus. Strabo's phrase κώμη τῆς Ἐφεσίας (XIII, 3, 2) can bear this meaning. In one inscription it is called ἱερὰ κατοικία while another is a dedication to Artemis and the village (κατοικία), Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, pp. 213 ff. P. 82: on Satala, see L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, pp. 93 ff. P. 83: Sari Çam is a

plausible site for Hierolophus; only if it were situated there is it reasonably certain that it possessed a temple of the Persian goddess; see L. Robert, *Villes*, pp. 84, 90. P. 86: Caesar settled colonists along the coast about Lampsacus, so G(emella?) in the title of Parium perhaps refers to the combination of Caesarian and Augustan colonists there, App., *B. C.*, V, 137. P. 105 ff.: see L. Robert, *Villes*, p. 55, on the Lycian sympoliteiai. Pp. 123 and 211: Germa and Ninica are both colonies of Augustus, not Domitian. Both have the title Julia Augusta Felix, and the latter placed on its coins the type of the founder ploughing, which is found in Asia Minor only on the coins of colonies of Caesar and Augustus. Ninica can plausibly be located at Sevasti but a double community at Claudiopolis (Mut) would not be surprising. The strategic importance of Mut might favor placing a colony there after the Isaurian uprising. Julia the daughter of Titus is an unlikely source for the titles Julia Augusta. P. 133: Pamphylia was for a time attached to Asia, Cic., *Fam.*, XII, 15, 5. P. 143: on Pogla, see *T. A. P. A.*, LXV, pp. 229 f. P. 149: there was also a Phocaeen element in Amisus, Miltner, *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, pp. 191 ff. P. 154: Kalinka, in *J. A. O. I.*, XXVIII, beibl. 95, no. 67, shows that *I. G. R.*, III, 79 was misread. The formula, confirmed by another inscription, *ibid.*, 73, no. 21, is simply the "Koinon of the Cities in Pontus." Heracleia is probably to be reckoned among Pompey's eleven cities. It accepted a garrison from Mithridates and was included in the Roman district of Pontus, cf. Anderson, *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 4. It is uncertain what was the status at that time of the rival candidate Abonuteichus. Coinage under Mithridates is no proof of its independence. P. 172: on Colonia see *Econ. Survey*, IV, p. 735. In proportion to the detail involved the book is remarkably free from slips. I note that on p. 60 Metropolis should be placed in the Cayster valley, not Caria north of the Maeander. P. 72: the Sibliani are above Peltae in the Maeander valley, not below it. P. 151: Heracleia was appointed guardian under the will of Nicomedes I not of Ziaelas but of his rivals, the minor children of Nicomedes by a second marriage; and on p. 157 Prusias I, not II, is evidently intended.

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The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work, 1933-1934 and 1934-1935. Edited by M. I. ROSTOVITZEFF, F. E. BROWN and C. B. WELLES. New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press; Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz; Prague, Kondakov Institute, 1939. Pp. xxiv + 461; frontispiece, 57 plates, 86 figures in text, map. \$7.50.

Like its predecessors, this volume brings a number of notable contributions. One is the description of the Mithraeum, by Messrs. Pearson, Rostovtzeff, Cumont, and others. This is the first Mithraeum in the East which is well preserved and systematically exca-

vated, and one of the few sanctuaries whose decoration is almost intact. The discovery makes important additions to our knowledge of the religion. Built *ca.* A. D. 168, the shrine was twice enlarged and was destroyed after A. D. 256. Remains of the decoration include two cult bas-reliefs and paintings of the cosmogony of the mysteries and of the life of Mithras and of two *magi* who were the authors or interpreters of the books of Mithraism. The scene of Mithras the hunter will, among other things, provide useful material in connection with the hunting scenes which figure so prominently in the official art of the Roman and Byzantine Empires (see A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin* [Paris, 1936], pp. 57-62, 133-144).

Five temples are described. A shrine of the Phoenician Adonis-Eshmoun, with his mother-consort Atargatis, built *ca.* A. D. 150-160, is unique, for no other sanctuary dedicated to his worship as god paramount has yet been found. A temple of Zeus Theos, built *ca.* A. D. 110-123, yielded a remarkably complete set of the apparatus of worship. A temple of the Gaddé, built by Palmyrene residents, dates from the late first century B. C. (with subsequent enlargements). Considerable remains of wall-paintings found in these shrines make valuable additions to the history of ancient art. A fourth temple is of Ba'al Shamin-Zeus Kyrios, erected *ca.* A. D. 30 and later rebuilt. A temple to various Palmyrene gods, built 33 B. C., was found in the necropolis.

One of the interesting features of certain of the temples is the presence of the "chapels." The existence in temples near Palmyra of analogous "chapels" obviously designed for the sacred repasts, *εὐχίαι*, which are known in Syrian cults, suggests, as Mr. Brown points out (p. 157), that the rooms at Dura served a similar purpose. Attention may be drawn to the mosaic from Antioch (*Antioch-on-the-Orontes, II: The Excavations, 1933-1936*, ed. by R. Stillwell [Princeton, 1938], Pl. 55) representing a banquet which bears the labels MNHMOΣYNH and AIΩXIA. If, as seems likely, the latter word is a curious misspelling of *εὐχία*, the Antioch mosaic may represent a banquet in remembrance of the dead (cf. also *Dura Report VI*, pp. 155 ff.). It must be noted that what looks like a short diagonal stroke in the second letter of AIΩXIA, which would suggest that *αὐχία* is to be read, is not really a part of the letter, but is a gap caused by the loss of some of the light cubes of the background.

Three painted wooden shields, buried about A. D. 256, will take an important place in the history of ancient art. One, the Homeric shield, shows the Trojan horse and a scene from the sack of Troy. The second shows a combat of Greeks and Amazons. Scholars will be especially grateful for the color reproductions of these. The third shield is decorated with the figure of a warrior god, probably Arsu. Mr. Hopkins' discussion of the Homeric scenes and of the Amazonomachy, while it is necessarily a brief preliminary statement, leaves something to be desired. While Mr. Hopkins naturally distinguishes various elements in the style of the pictures, it appears to the reviewer that he has been led, by the circumstance that the shields were found at Dura, to lay too much weight on the possibility that they were painted there, and to accept too readily the

presence of certain supposed eastern traits as evidence in support of local origin or local styles. Mr. Brown is more nearly right in his observation (p. 331, n. 7) that the painter was, from his style, not a native of Dura but a West Syrian. Mr. Hopkins fails to do justice to the paintings when he omits to point out their importance in connection with the illustrations of the Joshua Roll. The effort which he makes to show a relationship between the scene of the Trojan horse and the miniature of the same scene in the *Codex Romanus* will not meet with universal approval because the two pictures are actually different both in content and in style. Again, some scholars will not be inclined to accept without hesitation Mr. Hopkins' opinion that, in the scene of the Trojan horse, the Trojan stands beside and in front of the horse. While the condition of the shield may render the point uncertain, Mr. Gute's painting shows the figure astride the horse, and the photograph appears to support this interpretation (cf. also the editorial note, p. 334, n. 2). It is to be hoped that the final cleaning of the shields, which it is understood is still in progress (p. 326), will clarify this matter.

In another respect Mr. Hopkins' comparison of the Homeric scenes and the miniatures of the Vatican Vergils is affected by a point on which he does not seem to be well informed. He dates the manuscripts in the fourth century, and gives the impression that there is no doubt about this. The *Codex Romanus* has been dated all the way from the third or fourth to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, but the dating that seems to fit the various factors best is the fifth century (probably the latter half). The second Vatican Vergil has been most satisfactorily dated ca. 420 (J. de Wit, "Die Datierung der spätantiken illustrierten Vergilhandschrift," *Mnemosyne*, ser. 3, III [1936], pp. 75-82).

The question of the purpose for which the shields with the Homeric scenes and the Amazonomachy were made is important. Mr. Brown discusses the possibilities (pp. 330-331), but some scholars may wish to consider the matter a little further. It seems hazardous to suppose that "there is no reason to assume that they were not originally intended to receive *umbones* and to see actual service as arms." On the contrary, the reviewer finds it difficult to believe that such elegant productions can have been intended to face inevitable wear and easy damage in actual service. The presence of the holes for the grip, and the reservation by the painter of space for the *umbones*, without these having been added, does not seem to the reviewer (as it does to Mr. Brown) to exclude the possibility that the shields were votive pieces.

A study by Mr. von Gerkan adds to previous knowledge of the defences, which were originally constructed in the Hellenistic period and successively strengthened by the Parthians and the Romans.

Analysis of a mid third century hoard of bronze coins provides Mr. Bellinger with material for a useful discussion of the way in which the bronze issues of local mints in the East were arranged and controlled by coöperation of the cities involved, by the Roman governors of the districts, and by the central government itself. Analyses of other hoards are given. Mr. Welles publishes a parchment of A. D. 86/7 recording an agreement among four heirs concerning the division of two houses, and a papyrus deed of sale of

land dated A. D. 227. Among the various Greek and Semitic inscriptions may be mentioned the earliest Palmyrene inscription thus far discovered (33 B. C.). Some of the minor finds are described. To the parallels cited (p. 373) for the graffito of a lion with body in side view and the head full front, one may add the lion similarly drawn in a mosaic at Antioch (C. R. Morey, *The Mosaics of Antioch* [New York, 1938], p. 36).

Two maps of the city are provided, one on a plate, the other loose in a pocket inside the back cover. It will be useful to point out that because of difficulties of transportation which existed at the time in Europe, where the book was printed, some copies seem to have been sent to this country without the loose map. Readers whose copies lack this map may obtain it from the Yale University Press.

The excavators of Dura are to be congratulated not only upon the variety and importance of their discoveries but also upon these admirable preliminary reports, and scholars will be thankful for the modesty of the price at which this rich volume is offered.

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LILLIAN M. WILSON. *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938. Pp. xiii + 178. (*The Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies in Archaeology*, XXIV.)

In this book Dr. Wilson has followed a plan similar to that employed in her well-known monograph, *The Roman Toga* (Baltimore, 1924), which was the first in the series of *The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology*. Her new work consists of thirteen chapters, of which the first two describe the raw materials of clothing and their preparation, the third deals very briefly with Sewing, Garment Fastening, and Jewelry, while the remaining ten chapters describe individual garments, their origin and development.

The author's chief sources of information are Latin literature and Roman sculpture. Obviously, the former source is far from adequate, since in literature the mention of clothing is mainly incidental, and scanty references by writers from widely separated periods often prove difficult to reconcile. But Roman sculpture, with its characteristic realism, does afford faithful evidence about Roman clothing as it appears in the splendid pictorial reliefs of contemporaneous events and in the scenes from private life which adorn sarcophagi. The book contains 95 excellent full-page plates (118 illustrations). The period covered by the study is approximately from the middle of V century B. C. to the middle of the V century A. D.

Valuable even for the general reader will be the clear account and beautiful illustrations of the development of the loom and of the processes of spinning and weaving, processes which, in the case of wool, seem to have constituted an important home-industry well into the Empire (cf., however, T. Frank, *Rome and Italy of the*

Republic, An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome I [Baltimore, 1933], pp. 374-375), whereas dyeing and fulling, which required much water and expensive apparatus, were done in factories and shops.

Interesting, too, is the account of the rediscovery in the nineteenth century of the ancient art of making purple dye from the *murex*. But long before the loss of this art the costliness of the dye had led to the use of inexpensive substitutes, some recipes for which are still extant (*Papyrus Graecus Holmiensis* [Uppsala, 1913]). With the help of two chemists Dr. Wilson has reproduced these ancient vegetable and mineral substitutes, and the colored frontispiece of her book shows seven shades of purple made from these ancient formulae.

In selecting for Chapter IV the most important results of her earlier study of the *toga* the author has wisely stressed the way in which this badge of Roman citizenship changed with the changing times; how from the beautiful austerity of the *Arringatore* the *toga* increased in amplitude and intricacy of draping to the stately forms shown on the reliefs of the *Ara Pacis*, and still on to the ever more cumbersome Imperial styles, finally shrinking in size and significance with the advance of Oriental influence.

Helpful in the account of the tunic is the evidence on the troublesome question of the stripes and on the varying length of the sleeves.

The largest single section of the work consists of four chapters (VI-IX), devoted to Roman cloaks, civilian and military. These comprise eight or nine types, with some variants, and seem all to have been borrowed or adapted from foreign sources. Their use marks increasing contact with the outer world, with Gaul and the North, with Greece and the Orient. Some are difficult to identify. Especially common were the *pallium* and the *lacerna*. Such cloaks owed their popularity to the fact that they were practical and convenient; they did not require the frequent pressing and the careful draping which the Imperial *toga* demanded. A special favorite was the *lacerna*, which, with its varied lengths and cuts, served now as a rain-coat, now as a riding-coat, but, when made up in glowing purple with gold ornamentation, could grace the most formal occasion. The patriotic appeals of Cicero and Augustus and Hadrian failed to induce young Romans to sacrifice for the ancestral *toga* this comfortable and practical style.

The quaint appearance of little children in Roman art is due to the fact that their garments were miniature copies of those of their parents. In this connection the author reviews the uncertain evidence for the wearing of the *toga praetexta* by girls.

For the dress of Roman women the evidence is surprisingly scant, save in cases where they are involved in some ceremonial. Of these cases the most notable example is, of course, that of the Roman bride, whose tunic long continued to be woven on the old Homeric loom and was supposed to bring good luck; whose hair, arranged like that of a Vestal, was bound with a fillet, symbol of purity; whose voluminous veil, like that worn by the wife of a *flamen*, enwrapped her as a mantle and typified the indissoluble character of the marriage-bond. If we may trust the relatively small amount

of extant evidence, the styles of women's garments changed slowly and were always more conservative than men's styles.

Prominent among the author's contributions to her subject are directions for reconstructing all the most important garments. One can hardly estimate the painstaking experimentation which went into the making of these clear and exact instructions. In the face of so much that is excellent it seems captious to question the admission of a few passages from the *fabulae palliatae* as evidence for Roman dress, or to regret on the score of inconvenience certain omissions from the Index, or to wish that the author had capped her study with a chapter on some of the large aspects of her theme, such, for example, as Etruscan and Greek influence on Roman dress. Our concern here is with something that is more than ordinary garment-making; for, in the case of the Romans, dress was, to an exceptional degree, an expression of a people's attitude to society and to life. Roman dress took account of class-distinctions, it was prescribed in some detail for important persons,—for priests, consuls, emperors, triumphing generals; it stands in significant contrast with the garb of the individualistic Greeks.

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MARCO GALDI. *Saggi Boeziani*. Pisa, U. Giardini, 1938. Pp. 301.

Everyone must regret the untimely death of Dr. Galdi, who had once been a teacher of the Classics at Pavia and most fittingly had devoted many years to the study of Boethius. The eighteen essays in the volume, which deal almost entirely with aspects of the *Consolatio Philosophiae* and its influence, have been published by the author's brother just as they were left; some are finished chapters and some merely tentative sketches or collections of material.

Ten of the chapters are devoted to questions of Boethius' style and his debt to ancient authors. "Emotività e fantasia in Boezio" (VIII) maintains that beneath the austerity of the philosopher Boethius betrays a warm poetic feeling for nature and music. In "L'Apologia di Boezio" (XIV) the fourth prose of Book I is seen to strike a happy medium between rhetorical elegance and severe plainness. By having converted the myths of Orpheus, Circe, and Hercules into parables, Boethius is thought of as opening the way "a quel simbolismo etico-didascalico" characteristic of mediaeval literature (XV). Galdi sees the influence of Dio Chrysostom in the accounts of Hercules and Circe. The author cautiously suggests that there are traces in the *Consolatio* of Boethius' reading of the *Aetna* (VII), Pliny's Letters (XVI), and Cassian (XIII). In "Il canto dell'amore universale" (IX) there is a good, if not new, interpretation of *Cons.* II, m. 8 and criticisms of previous interpretations. "Boezio e Proclo" (X) does not seek to alter materially prevailing ideas of Boethius' debt to Proclus but offers suggestions with regard to details. More direct influence of Plato in *Cons.* III, m. 9 is surmised by Galdi than by Klingner (*De Boethii Consolatione Phil.*, 1921, pp. 38-62, etc.). Much is made of Boethius' having combined

ideas of Proclus and Plotinus in his concept of *Fati series* and Providence. In this Galdi follows Patch ("Fate in Boethius and the Neoplatonists," *Speculum*, IV [1929]). While rejecting many previously alleged Plutarch parallels (XII), the author thinks *Consol. ad Uxorem* may have suggested Boethius' handling of the theme of *Consolatio* Book II. It is thought that further study of Boethius and *de exilio* might produce interesting results. Galdi is inclined to think that Boethius read some pseudo-Plutarchian writings also. The chapter closes with a discussion of *Cons.* III, p. 7, in the course of which the author rather surprisingly takes exception to the reading *tortorem* (III, p. 7, 14) in the text of Stewart and Rand on the ground that the reading has no manuscript authority. There are good arguments for *tortores*, it is true, but a quick glance at Peiper's or Weinberger's apparatus would show that the manuscripts support *tortorem* just as well.

A most interesting department of Boethius studies is that of his influence in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The author has ranged over the whole field and looked into obscure corners of Boethiana. His chapters in some ways provide an interesting supplement to H. R. Patch's *Tradition of Boethius* (1935), a work which Galdi was not able to use. "Boezio e l'abate di Ferrières" (III) contains a convenient summary of Lupus' references to Boethius in his letters. "Spigolature boeziane" (XI), a title that would have fitted admirably the *Saggi* as a whole, has rather the character of a notebook and defies systematic analysis. There are notes on the *Ecclasiastica Captivi*, Liutprand's *Antapodosis*, Alain de Lille, Waldramus of Salzburg, Alberto da Brescia, etc. Chronology is disregarded to make room for paragraphs on Cicero and Boethius, Paulinus of Nola and Boethius, etc. There is a good statement of Boethius' claims to originality (p. 184). Over a dozen pages are devoted to the controversy started by Lorenzo Valla's superficial criticism of Boethius. The controversy itself is eloquent testimony to Boethius' continued popularity among the humanists. Other matters discussed in this miscellaneous chapter are the study of Boethius in the English speaking countries, Salutati on the banishment of the Muses, Boethius as critic of Vergil, the influence of Boethius upon Carducci and Rapisardi. "Boezio e Petrarca" (I) contains important matter, but should be provided with more cross-references to previous literature on the subject.¹ Further gleanings are chapter II on the Messinese mathematician Maurolico and his abridgment of the *Institutio musica*, Boethius and "Mantuanus Minor" (IV), and "La figura di

¹ Some of the same questions were discussed by V. Grasso, *Il De Consolatione Philosophiae di Boezio in Dante, Petrarca, Chaucer* [Catania, 1923], pp. 57-72. Galdi goes considerably beyond the results set forth in Grasso's brief chapter, but more generous references are wanted to make clear the exact extent of Galdi's contribution.

Apropos of the quotation from Euripides' *Andromache* in *Cons.* III, p. 6 (discussed by Galdi, p. 18) Galdi remarks: "Confesso intanto di non comprendere bene l'interpretazione che ne dà (i.e. of Euripides' Greek) la Venuti-De Dominicis (Teresa V.-De D., *Boezio*, 1911): 'o gloria, o gloria, non sei altro per migliaia di uomini che un'enfiagione di orecchie'." Is it possible that the version of Venuti-De Dominicis rests on the mediaeval gloss on this passage: *o gloria gloria in milibus mortalium nihil facta aliud quam aurium inflatio magna?* Cf. *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, IX (1935), p. 137.

Boezio sulle scene" (V), the latter being a review of the rather unhappy attempts that have been made to dramatize Boethius' story. Galdi would have read with interest Aurelia Jozs's *Severino Boezio* (Milan, Treves, 1937). Italian critics and translators pass in review in chapter VI with special mention of Tiraboschi and Varchi. There appears to be one curious misstatement, to the effect that Rocca's high opinion of Boethius (as not inferior to Cicero) coincides with that of Notker Labeo "nella vita Boethii da lui scritta e premessa dal re Alfredo alla sua traduzione di Boezio." I can find nothing of the sort in Notker's or Alfred's *Boethius* but the idea is elaborated in the first and fourth of the *vitae* published by Peiper (edition of the *Cons.* [1871], pp. xxx, xxxiii), which Galdi actually quotes without giving a reference (p. 88). Like Dr. H. F. Stewart (*Boethius*, 1891), Galdi has praise for the literary quality of Maximus Planudes' Greek translation of the *Consolatio* (XVII). To judge from Galdi's one quotation (p. 266), the metrical comments prefixed by Planudes to the poems of the *Consolatio* are in some way connected with Lupus' treatise (cf. Peiper, p. xxv). The Greek translator, perhaps, worked from a manuscript provided with notes derived from Lupus or Lupus' source. In the "Conclusione" (XVIII) Galdi gives a general estimate of Boethius and his influence, laying emphasis upon Boethius' conception of his philosophical labors as a patriotic duty.

Had he lived, the author would undoubtedly have added an index, more generous references to literature dealing with Boethius, and made more precise many references that are now tantalizingly vague. Little, however, would be gained in pointing out here the minor defects that the author's *ultima manus* would have removed. The *Saggi* will be read with profit by many and will be frequently cited in the next annotated edition of the *Consolatio Philosophiae*.

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ΜΑΝΟΛΗΣ ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΙΔΗΣ. Νεοελληνική Γραμματική. Πρώτος τόμος. Ἱστορικὴ εἰσαγωγή. Ἀθήνα, Δημητράκου, 1938. Pp. 15 + 667; 13 maps, 7 tables. Drs. 350.

As the title indicates, this volume is merely the historical introduction to a larger work that plans to cover completely the grammatical details of the modern Greek language. The writer has set himself the task of supplying to his countrymen in their own language information hitherto meagerly and inconveniently furnished, scattered about in works more concerned with the ancient language than with the modern. In this first volume, at least, which supplies the historical background of the language, he has performed his task extremely well.

The historical development of the language is treated in the first 169 pages, divided as follows:

- pp. 1-22, the ancient language to 330 A. D.
- pp. 23-45, the language of the Middle Ages (μεσαιωνικὴ γλῶσσα).
- pp. 46-169, the modern language (νέα γλῶσσα).

From this division it can be seen that emphasis is laid on the modern period, and justly so, for the early period has been thoroughly treated by many other scholars. In the early pages, however, the influence of the ancient dialects on the development of the modern tongues has been fully studied.

Since his years as a student—in Athens with Hatzidakis, Lambros, and Bernardakis, in Munich with Crusius and Krumbacher, to mention the most important of his teachers—, years which culminated in his doctoral dissertation at Munich (*Studien zu den Lehnwörtern der mittelgriechischen Vulgärliteratur* [Marburg, 1909]), Dr. Triantaphyllides has been a devoted champion of the cause of demotic Greek as against the high-style (*καθαρεύουσα*). In Greece books and newspapers are written, public speeches are declaimed in a language designed by the purists of a hundred years ago to approximate the language of the ancients, while in daily intercourse quite a different speech is used. Except for poetry, the popular speech was long deemed by educated people unworthy as a vehicle for literary thought, an opinion that still is widely prevalent. It is noteworthy that in a scholarly work Dr. Triantaphyllides has employed the popular speech throughout the book, except in quotations.

As might be expected, full attention has been paid to the history of the conflict that has long raged between the proponents of the two languages, a conflict that in the early part of this century entailed riots and deaths. In Greece the Language Question is taken as seriously as are questions of religion or politics. Such disputes rouse more animosity than they do in Western lands. The Language Question, moreover, is one which cannot be settled by mere arguing or by appeals to reason and, least of all, by the intervention of foreign scholars. Its solution must come by a process of evolution, assisted by some great writer still unborn, who will produce a work in a "compromise" language that will become standard. The situation somewhat resembles that existing in Italy before the appearance of Dante.

The volume under consideration appears as a graphic witness of the evolution that has taken place since the time of the Gospel Riots at the beginning of the century, riots caused by the attempted introduction at the University of a translation of the Gospels that was too "demotic." The grammar, written in the popular language, in a clear and simple style, illustrates the undeniable fact that the demotic must borrow words from the other camp to supplement its meager vocabulary. It foreshadows a time when the two languages will unite on a closer footing, the elaborate diction of the *καθαρεύουσα* having yielded somewhat to the simpler locutions of the other, but having enriched it the while with countless words and phrases. To the evolution the newspapers and radio are contributing in no small degree. As in all languages that have a written language there exist small differences between the written and the spoken language, similar differences will always remain in Greek, but the disparity that now exists will tend to diminish.

Beyond p. 170, to the end of the book, there is a mine of information for the student, and a store of practice material for anyone who desires to attain proficiency in the reading of Greek. There are copious extracts from Greek literature of all periods, chosen to

illustrate the historical matter of the previous pages, especially extracts from the writers of the popular speech from the earliest times to the present. The Attic and dialectic inscriptions and the papyri are heavily requisitioned. A reluctance to extend the book unreasonably probably precluded the inclusion of some of the colloquial portions of Aristophanes, but the abundance of illustrative material is more than ample. Although the excerpts have been chosen for their value as illustration, this fact does not preclude their interest. This part of the book can be recommended as an excellent Reader in Byzantine and post-Byzantine Greek. Each passage chosen is fully commented on, with full documentation. The bibliographies, especially that on the Language Question, are extremely valuable.

In paper and typography the book is an example of the excellent printed matter that can now be produced in Greece.

SHIRLEY H. WEBER.

THE GENNADEION, ATHENS.

DONALD EUGENE FIELDS. *The Technique of Exposition in Roman Comedy*. Private ed. distributed by the Univ. of Chicago Libraries, 1938. Pp. iii + 200.

Dr. Fields defines exposition as "the relation of the facts and conditions that prevailed prior to the beginning of the play" (p. 1) and is concerned, therefore, only with the presuppositions of the plot, not with the development of the action within the play. In the first half of his dissertation the author summarizes the exposition in each comedy of Plautus and Terence and shows the extent to which the necessary facts are presented gradually throughout the plays; in the second part of the work he analyzes the exposition in the opening scenes of each play, explains the dramatist's choice of certain characters for the purpose of giving exposition; he treats also the various methods of introducing and motivating the presuppositions and discusses the motivation of the entrance of the characters who give the necessary facts. All this helps to throw considerable light on the methods not only of Plautus and Terence but also of the authors of the Greek originals and will therefore be very useful to all students of ancient dramatic technique. The material, in the first half especially, is somewhat mechanically presented, and the arrangement of the book renders unavoidable a certain amount of repetition, since the reader returns from time to time to the same play or group of scenes. Unfortunately there is no index, and a reader, wishing material on a particular play, must go through the entire book and assemble for himself the necessary passages.

Dr. Fields is familiar with much recent work on the various plays, and often in lengthy footnotes reviews the theories of Fraenkel, Jachmann, Hough, Drexler, and other scholars who deal with problems of exposition (e. g. pp. 13, n. 1; 59, n. 4; 60, n. 2; 87, n. 1; 90, n. 1); the discussion of the unusual features in the exposition of the

Epidicus (p. 140, n. 1) would have been improved by a mention of Dziatzko's generally accepted theory of the change which Plautus made in the conclusion of the play. Kuiper's recent work which deals considerably with matters of exposition was apparently published too late to be available to Fields. The author's purpose is primarily descriptive and analytical, e. g. he shows that the introductory exposition (by means of dialogue) is motivated by questions, requests for help, statements of returning characters, announcements by messengers, disputes, instructions to servants, etc., but the numerous citations and parallel passages are extremely useful. Often interesting points emerge; the discussion of the mechanical and unconvincing rôle of the protatic slave in the *Andria* (p. 108, n. 1; cf. pp. 156 f.) gives added proof that Norwood unjustly criticizes Plautus for his handling of the protatic character, minimizing the more obvious flaws in Terence's technique.

The author shows that in the plays of Plautus which have no recognition scenes all the necessary information is given before the action of the play begins; in the other plays of Plautus, as well as in those of Terence, the exposition is gradual; the regular technique in these plays is as follows (p. 35): "the giving of the expository information necessary for the understanding of the action preceding the denouement is completed before the action begins; the exposition is gradual in so far as certain facts, affecting the recognition, are reserved until the recognition occurs, or until very shortly before." In these plays, therefore, Plautus and Terence handle their exposition in similar fashion, and the Plautine plays with recognition scenes (e. g. *Menaechmi*, *Captivi*, *Cistellaria*, *Poenulus*, *Rudens*, etc.) do not in most cases need the detailed prologues which they have.

The most significant fact concerning Fields' treatment of the exposition is his failure to give due consideration to the Plautine prologues; on the contrary he intentionally limits his study to "the technique used within the play itself" (p. 2).¹ This procedure, it seems to me, materially lessens the value of his results and constitutes the major weakness of the book. If in a given comedy the exposition is spread throughout the play (the *Rudens* is the best illustration, pp. 84 ff.), this proves little if the same information has already been given to the spectators by means of a prologue. Fields often states (pp. 10, 24, 30 f., 33, 36, etc.) that the facts of the prologue are (or, occasionally, are not) repeated in the play itself, either before the action begins or gradually throughout the play, but he does not make sufficiently clear whether the facts given in the play itself present to the audience knowledge which they did not acquire from the prologue. If in all the plays with prologues the facts which are given gradually later on merely repeat what the spectators already know, then the gradual revelation of these facts seems of less value in arousing or maintaining the interest of the audience. In fairness to the author, however, it must be admitted that he considers the problem merely from the standpoint of the technique of the dramatists, not from the equally important view

¹ But in the *Miles Gloriosus* and the *Mercator* the presuppositions are given completely in the prologues; cf. pp. 7, 10.

of the possible effect of the exposition upon the interest of the spectators. Dr. Fields has given us a useful and thorough study of one phase of ancient dramatic technique; further investigation may yield still more fruitful results.

GEORGE E. DUCKWORTH.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

HAROLD FUCHS. *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom in der antiken Welt.* Berlin, De Gruyter and Co., 1938. Pp. 102.

This inaugural lecture, delivered at the University of Basel in 1933, is now published with the addition of sixty-six pages of notes, which consist partly of ancient testimonia to support the author's arguments, partly of discussions of controversial matters. Professor Fuchs' thesis is to show that Rome and her imperial structure were at all times the target of hostile criticism and then to illustrate this by examples extending in time over six centuries, from Polybius and Carneades to the later years of Augustine. The result is a readable and stimulating essay, while the elaborate annotations form a valuable repertorium of ancient sources and modern interpretations that bears witness to the author's unusual erudition. At the same time, though Professor Fuchs has indisputably made a weighty contribution to a subject of great interest both to the historian and the political philosopher, his book should be used with caution, or rather, with mental reservations, because in the main he is stating only one side of the case. Thus, for instance, it is well to remind oneself that, in contrast to the hostile judgments on Rome expressed in contemporary literature, the epigraphic records bear eloquent testimony to the gratitude of the common man for an imperial organization that made the *pax romana* a reality at least in the first and second centuries of our era. Professor Fuchs makes no mention of this inscriptional evidence, just as he passes over in silence Aelius Aristides. Yet Aristides' discourse "To Rome" is not a mere rhetorical flourish but, as Rostovtzeff has rightly stressed, a historical document of great moment filled with genuine admiration of Rome. Again, where Professor Fuchs in passing does draw attention to ancient verdicts favorable to Rome, he does not always allow them full weight. Thus he quotes a number of passages from the *Sibylline Oracles*, all of them hostile to Rome, and examines them at considerable length (pp. 30-36 and later), but he is content to allude in a very few lines and without discussion to the pro-Roman utterances scattered through the twelfth and fourteenth books of the *Oracula*.

Professor Fuchs is an eloquent advocate, but the soundness of his historical judgment is occasionally open to question. Would not a historical generalization like the following (p. 21), "Das antike Judentum hat die Feindschaft gegen Rom grundsätzlich niemals überwunden," need considerable qualification before it could be accepted as true? Or again, is the evidence for Carneades' lectures at Rome in 156 B. C. really sufficient to justify Professor Fuchs' elaborate reconstruction (pp. 2-4)? Virtually our only source for

the episode is Lactantius, since most of that portion in Cicero's *De republica* which deals with Carneades' orations is lost. And, even if we had Cicero's description intact, should we be justified in treating it as an historically accurate account? Cicero's practice in his other philosophical and in his rhetorical dialogues suggests that he allowed himself a good deal of latitude both in his use of historical *exempla* and in stating the views that he attributes to Greek and Roman worthies of the past. It may further be suggested that Professor Fuchs (p. 11) misunderstands or misinterprets Cicero's reference (*De lege agraria*, 1, 18) to Capua as a "second Rome," because he ignores the immediate circumstances in which the orator delivered his speeches against Rullus' agrarian bill. They were essentially party utterances levelled against the political opponents of Pompey and the senate; and just as Cicero, to stir up popular opposition, warns against those who are trying to make themselves *reges* in fact though not in name, so he emphasises Capua because it had once been Rome's greatest rival among the Italian cities and had actually gone over to Rome's chief enemy, Hannibal. Finally, when Professor Fuchs, in the course of his remarks (p. 23) on the *De civitate dei*, stresses Augustine's comparison between small states and a vast organism like the Roman empire—a comparison unfavorable to Rome—does he make sufficient allowance for the historical circumstances which impelled Augustine to compose his greatest work? We should surely not forget that its main theme is the antithesis between the *civitas terrena*—in the last analysis, any human or temporal state—and the *civitas dei*. Consequently we should not overemphasise Augustine's strictures on the political organism with which he was most familiar, since he was himself a member of it. As he himself remarks (*Retract.*, II, 69), when concluding the analysis of his masterpiece: *ita omnes viginti duo libri cum sint de utraque civitate conscripti, titulum tamen a meliore acceperunt, ut de civitate dei potius vocarentur.*

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HANS WINTERSCHIEDT. Aigina: Eine Untersuchung über seine Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft. Würzburg, 1938. Pp. iv + 59. (Köln dissertation.)

The aim of this essay is to sketch the sociological and economic history of Aegina from the middle of the seventh century to 431 B. C., the year of the installation of the Athenian cleruchy. The first chapter, devoted to the geography of Aegina, makes the common observations on the significance of the island's location, warns against the ancient tradition of its agricultural poverty, and closes with an account of the three harbors of Aegina—an account which is occasionally at variance with the determinations made in Lehmann-Hartleben's *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres* (*Klio*, Beiheft XIV, 1923). The greater part of the sociological observations are set down in the second chapter, together with an

admixture of political history that makes no serious effort to deal with the problems it entails. The writer argues for a social and political organization which emphasizes the rôle of an agrarian nobility, minimizes that of a merchant class which he holds to be without importance in the political life of the island; his thesis is by no means established. The third chapter, very short, contains the writer's remarks on the Aeginetan economy; none is extraordinary.

The chief value of this booklet is that it assembles a fair amount of the ancient testimonia for Aegina and a not inconsiderable list of modern works. Omitted, however, are the recent publications of Gabriel Welter: *Aigina* (Archäologisches Institut des deutschen Reiches, Berlin, 1938) and *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, pp. 1-33 and pp. 480-540, all particularly important for the archaeological material they contain; omitted, too, is Fritz Heichelheim's *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums* (Leiden, 1938), where especially chapters V and VI might have contributed to this study of Aeginetan society and economy. These omissions, of course, are undoubtedly due to the fact that the works did not appear in time for Winterscheidt to make use of them.

If this dissertation on Aegina falls short of perfection, it is at least not without a certain usefulness—moreover, some further commendation is due the work, in these days, because it fails to exploit such pernicious nonsense as that found in the final sentences of Fritz Schachermeyr's article on the Philaidai in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie*, XIX, 2 (Stuttgart, 1938): Athen verdankte ihm [the family of the Philaidai] die glanzvollste und überzeugendste Vertretung eines politischen Standpunktes, welcher der naturgegebenen Tatsache der Auslese Rechnung zu tragen gesonnen war und den demokratischen Machtansprüchen entschlossen begegnete. In unsern Augen gewinnt das politische Verhalten der P[hilaidai] eine noch erhöhte Rechtfertigung durch Überlegungen rassenkundlicher Art. Waren die breiten Volksmassen der thetischen Klasse, welche durch die Demokratie zur Macht gelangten, doch zugleich die Träger einer ungünstigeren Blutmischung. Wenn die P[hilaidai] demgegenüber die Vorrechte der Auslese betonten, so verteidigten sie damit den Anspruch des nordischen Blutes auf seinen Leitcharakter im politischen Leben des attischen Volkstumes.

PAUL A. CLEMENT.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY.

ENGBERT JAN JONKERS. *Invloed van het Christendom op de Romeinsche wetgeving betreffende het concubinatus en de echtscheiding*. Wageningen, H. Veenman & Zonen, 1938. Pp. viii + 224.

In this Amsterdam dissertation Jonkers is inspired by the protest of his teacher, Hoetink, against the ignoring of social and economic conditions by students of Roman law. The task here undertaken is to show that the legislation about concubinage and divorce

from Constantine to Justinian was motivated solely by the financial interests of the State, and not by Christian teaching. Jonkers follows the complicated legislation step by step, insisting that definite Christian influence can nowhere be proved and in most cases is clearly out of the question.

The treatment of the subject is ample. The sources are quoted in full, and material is introduced far beyond the limits of the announced subject. For instance, after stating the ancient Christian views on divorce and remarriage, twelve pages (128-139) are devoted to mediaeval writers and councils, leaders of the Reformation, and modern churchmen, with a reference to the Anglican discussion about the marriage of the former king, Edward VIII, to the divorced Mrs. Simpson.

Another twenty-seven pages (8-34) give an account of concubinage under the Republic, but without giving any clear evidence of its existence (that is, as a recognized institution, like the later *concubinatus*). During the Empire the word *concubinatus* is the legal term for a lasting union of a man and woman not legally married, but it is also used then, as during the Republic, to describe any illicit union. It is easy to assume, as Jonkers does (pp. 11, 21, etc.) that unions of both kinds existed under the Republic, but that is of little importance unless it can be shown that the first (the subject of this dissertation) was then recognized as something distinct.

Jonkers finds one cause for the institution in the prohibition (until the time of Augustus) of marriage between the free born and the ex-slaves. But it is doubtful whether there ever was such a prohibition. Corbett (*Roman Law of Marriage*, pp. 31-34) offers the latest and fullest discussion of the question, deciding that it is unproved and improbable. Jonkers cites Corbett, along with earlier writers (p. 24, n. 1), but without noticing his arguments.

Another supposed proof for the republican concubinate is found in the story of Carvilius (pp. 29-35). Jonkers follows Savigny in understanding the oath "*se uxorem liberorum quaerendorum gratia habere*" to refer to a distinction between a wife and a concubine. But Corbett (*Roman Law of Marriage*, pp. 218-228) has shown the legendary character of the story, invented as an account of the first divorce in Rome. Even if the oath existed, it need not imply the existence of the *concubinatus*. Savigny supposes that the oath was applied to everyone, as part of the procedure of the census (*Abh. d. K. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Berlin*, 1814-1815, Hist.-phil. Klasse, pp. 61-66) whereas Jonkers less plausibly thinks that it was especially applied to Carvilius, to elicit the facts regarding his domestic status. He then concludes that Carvilius' wife must have been a free born Roman, else the woman's accent and physical type would have betrayed her slave origin and concubine status, and the censors would not have troubled Carvilius with the question!

Jonkers (p. 40) follows Tenney Frank in taking *ars ludicra* to refer only to "*de variété- en cabaretartiste*." For a later discussion of the question, see *Class. Phil.*, XXVIII (1933), pp. 301-304.

Jonkers makes a good affirmative case to show that economic motives dominated the course of legislation regarding concubinage and divorce. But his negative thesis, that religious motives never

played a part, can hardly be proved. As the later Emperors enact laws to make divorce more and more difficult, it is entirely credible, as Theodosius and Valentinian state, that the leading motive was a consideration for the interests of the children (*Cod.*, 5, 17, 8 pr. *Solutionem matrimonii difficiliorem debere esse favor imperat liberorum*. Quoted p. 190, n. 1). But may not Christian sentiments have coincided with the practical considerations in the matter? Indeed, when Justinian boldly abolished divorce by mutual consent (*Nov.*, 117, 10), religious prejudices seem to have unwisely prevailed. For the next Emperor, Justin, found it necessary to repeal the law, explaining that his father, in view of his own strong character, did not consider the weakness of the rest of mankind (*Nov.*, 140 pr.). Justinian was certainly a zealous churchman and a learned theologian, and it would be strange if this had never influenced his legislation. So we need not share Jonkers' amazement (p. 180) at the rule that allows divorce when either party, or both, choose the monastic life. Jonkers admits "coöperation" between Church and State in the law which assigned to a monastery the person and property of one who attempted divorce without legal cause (pp. 185 f.). This admission should qualify the repeated denial of "Christian influence" upon legislation.

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FRIDERICUS KLINGNER. *Q. Horati Flacci Carmina*. Leipzig, Teubner, 1939. Pp. xx + 379.

Klingner, in presenting his text edition of Horace, starts with the premise that Keller and Holder took much for granted in their tripartite classification of the manuscripts of Horace. Klingner then notes that Vollmer, though holding to a dual tradition, failed to make out his case. Lejay, Villeneuve, and Lenchantin accepted the latter alternative but did not go into the merits of the matter. Klingner recognizing the hugeness of the task as a whole would at least go fully into the light that Vaticanus R may throw on the problem. He concludes that there were two (Ξ and Ψ) Horatian traditions going back to classical times and that during the Middle Ages a third recension arose (Q) deriving from both of the ancient sources. The mediaeval redactor (Q) preferred Ξ in the *Odes*, followed one or the other in the *Ars Poetica*, *Epodes*, and *Epistles*, and in the *Satires* usually chose the better reading without prejudice. The editor fits the extant manuscripts quite definitely into their respective classes. He places the scholia in Q. These conclusions as set forth in the preface, pp. iv-vii, seem to be borne out remarkably by the variant readings appearing in the critical notes throughout the text.

Aside from presenting his edition of Horace with the critical apparatus, the editor includes the *Vita* of Suetonius with variant readings and critical notes. Mr. Klingner also subjoins throughout the text separately pertinent material from the scholiasts, commentators, and classical writers. Indices include Vollmer's *Conspectus*

Metrorum; his *Metrica et Prosodiaca* and *Notabilia Grammatica*. There is also an *Index Nominum*. A checking of many references taken *passim* revealed no errors in documentation. The editor, to say the least, has not gone out of his way to find authority for unusual readings. Thus the only significant variant from the Oxford text in the first six of the odes is *pinnis* for *pennis* in *Carmina*, I, 3, 35.

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AT LOS ANGELES.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *The Roman Antiquities*, with an English Translation by EARNEST CARY. Volume II (Books III-IV). *The Loeb Classical Library*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1939. Pp. v + 532.

This reviewer believes that in the interest of better translations all use of italics for emphasis should be forbidden. "Nay, do *you*, answer *me* rather" (p. 379) should be "On the contrary, it is for you to answer me." Here we recognize *μὲν οὖν* = *immo vero*, a force overlooked again in IV, 31, 3. The italicized *you* in IV, 36 (beginning) might be avoided by writing "It is you who astonish me." In IV, 33, 3 the point of *τοιούτοις* = *τούτοις τοῖς ἐπικινδύνουσιν* is missed; the meaning is "In spite of the fact that I was in charge of such a perilous situation, nevertheless, . . ." The hortative *ἀλλά* with imperatives deserves something better than "but": "Act promptly, therefore" (IV, 39, 2). In IV, 28, 2 *ἐναντία συναφθεὶς τύχῃ* is rather "wedded to an adverse destiny" than "joined by an adverse fate." The translator seems confident (p. 357 note) that "The Romans got their alphabet from the Greeks (Chalcidians) who settled at Cumae and Naples." It might have been mentioned (pp. 395-7) that the senate-house was not in the Forum and that the removal of the old Rostra altered the aspect of things there during the lifetime of Dionysius.

Every translator, of course, like Homer, is entitled to an occasional nod. This volume is really superior to its predecessor. The version is rather more vigorous and even. The text reveals the personal attention of the editor, Edward Capps, which is as it should be. The proof-reading is excellent, though "seeming" (p. 437) should be "seeing." It is gratifying that such a dull author should be available in so attractive a form.

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MARY N. PORTER PACKER. Cicero's Presentation of Epicurean Ethics. New York, The Columbia University Press, 1938. Pp. 127. Columbia Diss.

This study is most commendable. It is clearly written and well printed, acutely reasoned and amply documented. The treatment confines itself to *De Finibus* I-II and is divided into two chapters: 1. Cicero's Presentation of Epicurean Philosophy in *De Finibus* I. 2. Cicero's Critique of Epicurean Philosophy, Presented in *De Finibus* I and II. Each chapter concludes with a summary, and the text of Epicurus himself is abundantly cited. The conclusion is that Cicero failed "to understand Epicureanism as a consistently unified philosophy (p. 81)," but is acquitted of having been "deliberately and intentionally unfair (p. 119)."

It is only to this acquittal that I take exception. Every debater has the choice of arguing to reveal the truth in its entirety or of arguing to make points. The former method is adapted to the Supreme Court, the latter to a trial by jury. Cicero was a crafty old trial lawyer and he deliberately argued to make points, because he was pleading before a reading audience, which functions like a jury, and his shrewd legal mind had long discerned the vulnerability of Epicureanism before this style of attack. His attitude was that of William J. Bryan toward biological evolution, and his pleadings are comparable to a Scopes trial, but I do not believe he could have misrepresented the truth so successfully had he not understood it completely. In the Scopes trial, the crafty old lawyer was on the opposite side—Clarence Darrow.

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Dioscoride Latino. *Materia Medica*, libro primo, a cura di H. MIHĂESCU. Iași, Tipografia Alexandru A. Terek, 1938. Pp. viii + 72.

The *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides was translated as a whole or in parts at least three times in the early Middle Ages. Numerous fragments of such a translation are preserved as interpolations to the *Herbarius Pseudo-Apulei* in one group of manuscripts (represented by Cod. Harleian. 4986 and Cod. Vindob. 187). Quotations from the same version occur in Isidorus of Seville. Not a literal translation but a short compilation from Dioscorides and other sources is the so-called *Liber Dioscoridis de Herbis Femininis* describing 71 medicinal herbs and their therapeutic virtue (edited by Kästner, *Hermes*, XXXI [1896], pp. 578-636). This is possibly the *Herbarius Dioscoridis* mentioned by Cassiodorus (*De Inst. Div. Litt.*, Cap. 31).

By far the most important early mediaeval translation is the one preserved in the two manuscripts: *Monacensis latinus* 337, written in the 8th century in Monte Cassino, and *Parisinus latinus* 9332, written in the 9th century in Chartres. Two leaves of the latter were cut out while the book was still in Chartres and are preserved today

in the Municipal and University Library of Berne (Codex A 91). When K. Hofmann and T. M. Auracher began to edit the Latin Dioscorides in 1882 (*Romanische Forschungen*, herausg. von Karl Vollmöller [Erlangen, 1882], I, pp. 49-105) only the Munich manuscript was known to them so that the first book of the *Materia Medica* was edited from one manuscript alone. After a long interruption H. Stadler continued the edition (*Romanische Forschungen*, X, pp. 181-247; XI, pp. 1-121; XIII, pp. 161-243; XIV, pp. 601-636) and in the meantime the Paris manuscript and the Berne fragments had been identified so that there was a much more solid foundation for the edition of Books II to V.

Stadler intended to reëdit Book I but he never did it, and now the gap has just been filled by H. Mihăescu who gives us a new edition of Book I based on all existing manuscripts. At last we have a complete critical edition of this particular Latin translation of Dioscorides. Mihăescu is now working on a monograph that will give an analysis of the language of this translation. He will follow the example set so very successfully by the school of Einar Löfstedt in Sweden.

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EVA MATTHEWS SANFORD. *The Mediterranean World in Ancient Times*. New York, The Ronald Press Co., 1938. Pp. xxi + 618, frontispiece, 64 plates, 11 maps, 9 chronological tables. \$4.50.

CHARLES EDWARD SMITH and PAUL GRADY MOORHEAD. *A Short History of the Ancient World*. New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939. Pp. xvii + 653, frontispiece, 10 plates, 7 maps. \$3.75.

ALBERT A. TREVER. *History of Ancient Civilization* (Vol. I: *The Ancient Near East and Greece*, pp. xx + 585, frontispiece, 18 plates, 14 maps, 4 charts; Vol. II: *The Roman World*, pp. xviii + 817, frontispiece, 22 plates, 7 maps, 4 charts). New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1936 and 1939. \$4 each volume.

The first two of these three works, those of Miss Sanford and of Smith and Moorhead, may be discussed together. Both are one-volume histories of the ancient world; both are mindful of the new knowledge gained by excavations. Miss Sanford gives good guidance for readings in the sources; Smith and Moorhead give none. Both are well organized in general. Miss Sanford deserves praise for her plan of keeping the reader aware of the Mediterranean world from period to period, a plan which is carefully worked out. The execution—that is, the text—unfortunately leaves much to be desired in both books. The specialist or the experienced teacher will note innumerable small slips. Very few of these are serious and pre-

sumably they will be corrected in the second editions. A more serious fault is that the exposition does not seem to have been thoroughly worked into shape in either book. In many places the beginner will be unable to understand what the text means, and in other places he will be misled. A short ancient history can be very useful, but only if the material is presented with the utmost clarity. Still and all, those who need a one-volume ancient history would do well to examine these two.

Trever has taken advantage of the two volumes allowed him by his publishers to give a fairly full account of his subject at all points. All sides of ancient life are presented, and there are frequent discussions and judgments which will make a good basis for classroom discussion. To illustrate this by an exception, the short statement (I, p. 217) that "the Milesian school ceased to develop because of the Persian conquest of the Ionian cities" is exceptional in being a categorical (and obviously wrong) answer to a complicated question; the pros, cons, and possibilities are usually presented. The Hellenistic Age receives a more adequate treatment than is usual in textbooks, as does the modern inheritance from Greece and Rome.

The books have an excellent bibliography of sources and secondary works, and the author evidently has read widely in both. Occasionally he seems to have had difficulty in choosing between two views and has tried to reconcile them with unfortunate results (e.g., II, pp. 116-117), but in general his treatment of contested points will not mislead the beginner. He makes few slips.

An objection should be made to the Tiberian terror (R. S. Rogers' study is not listed in the bibliography) and to DeSanctis' theory of the cause of the Jugurthine War, which was adopted in the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

The map in the back cover of Vol. II is a careless and inexact piece of work. The legends accompanying the plates are not to be trusted.

RICHARD M. HAYWOOD.

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KATHARINE EVERETT GILBERT and HELMUT KUHN. *A History of Esthetics*. New York, Macmillan, 1939. Pp. xx + 582. \$4.25.

Though this history of aesthetics covers twenty-five centuries, four of the nineteen chapters are given over to classical theories of art and beauty. Pre-Platonic aesthetics are derived from fragments of Heraclitus and Xenophanes attacking Homer and Hesiod and from the structure of cosmological theories. The former are not of course attacks on poetry, and there is just as much reason to hold that aesthetic prejudices determined cosmological structure as that cosmology determined aesthetic preferences. But since little is made of the former and since speculation is permissible in the latter field, no great harm is done. The chapters on Plato and Aristotle are solid studies based on the texts themselves and, though specialists are bound to differ on certain details, there is no reason to criticise the general

interpretation which the authors make of the fathers of aesthetics. The Hellenistic and Roman periods are presented by Theophrastus, Aristoxenus, Cicero, and writers of *obiter dicta* on the arts and beauty, but culminate with Plotinus. The nature of the material does not permit a genuine historical continuity—as is possible in the case of Plato and Aristotle—but the authors have done an excellent piece of work nevertheless in suggesting, rather than dogmatically asserting, certain affiliations of ideas. Strictly speaking, the material simply does not exist for writing a history of aesthetics in ancient times; the authors cannot be criticised for attempting one so long as they admit the incompleteness of their product.

The later chapters of the book are of interest to classicists largely as they show the effects of classical theory. The works of Aristotle and, to a smaller extent, of Plato have been used for centuries as authorities in the field of aesthetic criticism. It is important for students of these authors to see how they were interpreted in later times.

GEORGE BOAS.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

At its annual meeting in New York the CAAS appointed a committee to arrange and facilitate the exchange of positions between classics professors in the universities of the country. The value of such exchanges is very considerable, and the CAAS felt in setting up the bureau that it was promoting cordial coöperation and understanding between members of wide-flung university staffs. The committee consists of Professor Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., Chairman, Professor Ernest L. Hettich and Professor George D. Hadzsits. The procedure adopted is simple. Applications may be made to the chairman of the committee at New York University, who will forward a questionnaire to be filled out in triplicate. When suitable matches are found, the questionnaire will be sent to the parties concerned, who will then proceed to make the final arrangements. There is to be no fee, and inasmuch as the bureau is in effect really a clearing house, no responsibility is to attach either to the committee or to the CAAS for failure to conclude exchanges.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the JOURNAL, but all are listed under BOOKS RECEIVED. Contributions sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

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